UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00292164 1

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/menassehbenisrae00manauoft

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL'S

MISSION TO

OLIVER CROMWELL

Menasseh ben Israel
from an Etching by Rembrandt

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL'S MISSION TO *OLIVER CROMWELL*

Being a reprint of the Pamphlets published by *MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL* to promote the *Re-admission of the Jews to England* 1649–1656

Edited with an Introduction and Notes

By LUCIEN WOLF

Past-President and Vice-President of the Jewish Historical Society of England
Co-Editor of the "Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica," &c. &c.

Published for the
Jewish Historical Society of England
By MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED, LONDON
1901

DS
135
E5M3

LIBRARY
DEC 7 1964
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
946197

TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

THE Jewish Historical Society of England, soon after its establishment, resolved on the publication of the present volume as a memorial of Menasseh ben Israel, whose name must always hold the chief place on the first page of the history of the present Anglo-Jewish community. The Society did me the honour of entrusting me with the preparation of the work.

Menasseh's tracts have been printed in facsimile. They have not been reproduced by any photographic process, but have been entirely reset in types similar to those employed in the original. Thanks to the resources of the printing establishment of Messrs. Ballantyne, Hanson & Co. of Edinburgh, and the taste and care they have devoted to the work, a much finer effect has been produced than would have been possible had photography been employed, while exact fidelity to the originals has not been sacrificed.

To me the preparation of this volume has been a labour of love. Nothing in the whole course of a very varied literary career, extending over nearly thirty years, has fascinated me so much as the story of the Return of the Jews to England. Its mysteries belong to the highest regions of historical romance, and it forms a page of history which is a real acquisition both to the annals of the British Empire and to that wider and more thrilling panorama of human activities which depicts the fortunes of my

own co-religionists. I have not, however, spoken the last word on this subject in the present volume, which is chiefly concerned with the transaction with Oliver Cromwell in 1655–56 and its proximate causes. I hope to tell the whole story in detail in another volume, which I have long had in preparation for the "Jewish Library."

The preliminary essay on the Return of the Jews to England is in no sense a *réchauffé* of the papers on the same subject contributed by me to various periodicals during the last fifteen years. Those papers were written at successive stages of an uncompleted investigation. The present essay is a re-study in the light of all the facts, and it will be found that some of my former judgments have been modified, and a few even reversed.

I have to thank many friends for their assistance. Mr. Israel Abrahams very kindly relieved me of the labour of reading the proofs of the tracts, and made many valuable suggestions which have added to the completeness and beauty of the volume. Mr. B. L. Abrahams was good enough to revise my introduction, and thus saved me from not a few slips of style and memory. The Rev. S. Levy has given me useful assistance in preparing the annotations, and Dr. S. R. Gardiner was good enough to place at my disposal his unrivalled knowledge of the politics of the Commonwealth in solving some of the difficulties in the negotiations of 1655. My acknowledgments are also due to Miss S. R. Hirsch for the excellent index she has compiled. Finally, Mme. de Novikoff kindly obtained for me from the Hermitage Collection at St. Petersburg an excellent photograph of the alleged portrait of Menasseh ben Israel by Rembrandt, which I have reproduced, together with two other better known and more authentic portraits.

L. W.

LONDON, *December* 1900.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION xi

THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO ENGLAND :—

I. DAYS OF EXILE xi

II. THE HOPE OF ISRAEL . . . xviii

III. CROMWELL'S POLICY . . . xxviii

IV. THE APPEAL TO THE NATION . xxxvii

V. CROMWELL'S ACTION . . . lvi

VI. THE REAL "VINDICIÆ" . . lxix

VII. DOCUMENTS lxxvii

"THE HOPE OF ISRAEL, WRITTEN BY MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL" (1652) 1

"TO HIS HIGHNESSE THE LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, THE HUMBLE ADDRESSES OF MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL" (1655) . . 73

"VINDICIÆ JUDÆORUM, OR A LETTER IN ANSWER TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED BY A NOBLE AND LEARNED GENTLEMAN, WHEREIN ALL OBJECTIONS ARE CANDIDLY, AND YET FULLY CLEARED, BY RABBI MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL" (1656) 105

NOTES 149

INDEX 171

PORTRAITS . . *Frontispiece and facing pages* 1 and 105

INTRODUCTION

THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO ENGLAND

I. Days of Exile

SHROUDED in the fogs of the North Sea, the British Isles were, for two centuries after the Great Expulsion by Edward I., little more than a bitter memory to the Jewish people. In other lands they came and went, but England was as securely closed against them as was the Egypt of Danaus to the Greeks. With the exception of a few adventurous pilgrims who trickled into the country to enjoy the hospitality of the Domus Conversorum, they ceased gradually to think of the land which had been so signal a scene of their mediæval prosperity and sufferings. The Jewish chroniclers of this period, while dealing with the politics of other European countries, have scarcely a word to say of England.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the fogs began to lift, and England once again appeared as a possible haven to the "tribe of the wandering foot and weary breast." The gigantic expulsions from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella had created a new Jewish Diaspora under conditions of the most thrilling romance. The Jewish martyrs "trekked" in their thousands to all the points of the compass, fringing the coasts of the Mediterranean with a new industrious population, founding colonies all over the

Levant as far as the Mesopotamian cradle of their race, penetrating even to Hindostan in the East, and throwing outposts on the track of Columbus towards the fabled west. But this was only the beginning of a more remarkable dispersion. The men and women who took up the pilgrim's staff at the bidding of Torquemada could only go where Jews were tolerated, for they refused to bear false witness to their ancient religion. They left behind them in Spain and Portugal a less scrupulous contingent of their race—wealthy Jews who were disinclined to make sacrifices for the faith of their fathers, and who accepted the conditions of the Inquisition rather than abandon their rich plantations in Andalusia and their palaces in Saragossa, Toledo, and Seville. They embraced Christianity, but their conversion was only simulated, and for two centuries they preserved in secret their allegiance to Judaism. These Crypto-Jews, in their turn, gradually spread all over Europe, penetrating in their disguise into countries and towns and even guilds which the Church had jealously guarded against all heretical intrusion. It was chiefly through them that the modern Anglo-Jewish community was founded.[1]

The Iberian Crypto-Jews, or Marranos,[2] as they were called, represented one of the strangest and most romantic movements in the religious history of Europe. Marranism was an attempt by the Jews to outwit the Jesuits with their own weapons. Both sides acted on the principle that the end justified the means, and each employed the most unscrupulous guile to defend itself against the other. The Inquisition was ruthless in its methods to stamp out Judaism,

[1] Wolf, "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth" (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 55 *et seq.*); "The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History" (*Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, pp. 53-79).

[2] The origin of this name is obscure. There seems to be little doubt that it was originally a nickname, seeing that the classical name for the converts was *Nuevos Cristianos*, or "New Christians." Graetz believes that Marrano is derived from Maran-atha, in allusion to 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord, let him be Anathema Maran-atha" (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. viii. p. 73).

the Marranos were equally unprincipled in preserving their allegiance to their proscribed religion. Abandoning their ceremonial, abandoning even the racial limitation on marriage, the Jewish tradition was maintained by secret conventicles chiefly composed of males, and thus Jewish blood and the Jewish heresy became distributed all over the peninsula, and crept into the highest ranks of the nation. The Court, the Church, the army, even the dread tribunals of the Holy Office itself were not free from the taint.[1] A secretary to the Spanish king, a vice-chancellor of Aragon, nearly related to the Royal House, a Lord High Treasurer, a Court Chamberlain, and an Archdeacon of Coimbra figure in the lists of discovered Marranos preserved by the Inquisition.[2] At Rome the Crypto-Jews commissioned a secret agent supplied with ample funds, who bribed the Cardinals, intrigued against the Holy Office, and frequently obtained the ear of the Pontiff.[3] Some idea of the social ramifications of the Marranos is afforded by the careers of the early members of the Amsterdam Jewish community. Many of them were men of high distinction who had escaped from Spain and Portugal in order to throw off the burden of their imposture. Such were the ex-monk Vicente de Rocamora, who had been confessor to the Empress of Germany when she was the Infanta Maria; the ex-Jesuit father, Tomas de Pinedo, one of the leading philologists of his day; Enriquez de Paz, a captain in the army, a Knight of San Miguel, and a famous dramatist; Colonel Nicolas de Oliver y Fullana, poet, strategist, and royal cartographer; Don Francesco de Silva, Marquis of Montfort, who had fought against Marshal de Créqui under the Emperor Leopold; and Balthasar Orobio de Castro, physician to the Spanish Court, professor at the University

[1] Kayserling, *Juden in Portugal*, p. 327.
[2] Graetz, vol. viii. pp. 309–11; Ehrentheil, *Jüdisches Familien Buch*, p. 326.
[3] Kayserling, p. 139.

of Salamanca, and a Privy Councillor.[1] It was by Jews of this class that the congregations of Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Antwerp were founded, and it was largely through them that those towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were enabled to wrest from Spain her primacy in the colonial trade.

At a very early epoch Marranos reached England. We hear of them, almost immediataly after the expulsion from Spain, figuring in a lawsuit in London.[2] In 1550 a Marrano physician was discovered living in London. Another, Roderigo Lopes, was court physician to Queen Elizabeth, and the original of Shakespeare's Shylock.[3] When the Earl of Essex, after the sacking of Cadiz in 1596, brought the Spanish Resident, Alonzo de Herrera, a prisoner to England, he turned out to be a Marrano. After his liberation, this descendant of the great Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova proceeded to Amsterdam, entered the synagogue, and spent his old age in the compilation of cabalistical treatises.[4] Amador de los Rios states that the Marranos founded secret settlements in London, Dover, and York;[5] and it has been shown that they possessed a secret synagogue in London early in the seventeenth century, if not before.[6] As in Amsterdam and Antwerp, they were largely concerned in the development of the Spanish trade, in the importation of bullion, and in the promotion of commercial relations with the Levant and the New World.

While the people of England were unconscious of this immigration, it could not have been altogether unknown in the continental Jewries. That no trace of this knowledge

[1] Graetz, vol. x. pp. 195, 196, 200; Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles*, p. 408; Kayserling, p. 302.

[2] Graetz, vol. viii. pp. 342–43; Colonial State Papers (Spanish), vol. i. pp. 51, 164.

[3] Wolf, *Middle Age*, pp. 64, 67–70; S. L. Lee in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1880.

[4] Wolf, *Middle Age*, p. 68; Graetz, vol. ix. p. 494.

[5] *Historia de los Judios de España*, vol. iii. p. 357.

[6] Wolf, *Crypto-Jews*, loc. cit.

is to be found in printed Hebrew literature is not strange, since the keeping of the secret was a common Jewish interest. It no doubt helped to stimulate Jewish hopes of a return to England, which more public circumstances had already founded. The Reformation in England first turned Jewish eyes towards the land from which they had been so long excluded. They were especially interested by Henry VIII.'s appeal to Jewish scholars during his conflict with the Papacy in regard to his divorce from Catherine of Aragon.[1] Still more deeply must their feelings have been stirred by Elizabeth's struggle with Spain. All over Europe, indeed, Jewish sympathies were with Elizabeth. The secret negotiations carried on by Roderigo Lopes, through his influential Marrano relatives, with the Grand Turk and with the Hebrew bankers of Antwerp and Leghorn, have yet to be made public; but it is certain that they played an important part in the story which culminated in the confusion of the Great Armada. But it was the increasing Hebraism of English religious thought, as represented by the Puritan movement, which chiefly attracted the Jews. This movement sent not a few Englishmen and Englishwomen to the continental ghettos to seek instruction at the feet of Hebrew Rabbis, and even to obtain entrance to the synagogue as proselytes.[2] When the Commonwealth, with its pronounced Judaical tendencies, emerged from this movement, the Jews could not fail to be impressed. The more mystical among them began to dream of the Golden Age. Indeed the doctrines of the Fifth Monarchy Men, carried to Smyrna by Puritan merchants, paved the way for the rise of the pseudo-Messiah, Sabbethai Zevi.[3] The more practical saw that the time had arrived when it might be reasonably hoped to obtain the revocation of Edward I.'s edict of banishment.

[1] Wolf, *Middle Age*, pp. 61–63.
[2] De Castro, *Auswahl von Grabsteinen*, Part I. p. 28.
[3] Rycaut, *History of the Turkish Empire* (1687), vol. ii. pp. 174, *et seq.*

Towards the end of 1655, the question of the readmission of the Jews to England was brought to a climax by Menasseh ben Israel's famous mission to Oliver Cromwell. The story of this mission has been briefly narrated by Menasseh himself in the *Vindiciæ Judæorum*, one of the tracts printed in the present volume.[1] As my object in this preliminary essay is to set forth the story more fully, and to endeavour to elucidate its obscurities, I cannot do better than take as my text this authoritative, though somewhat vague, statement by the chief actor in the events with which I am dealing. Here is what Menasseh wrote under date of April 10, 1656:—

"The communication and correspondence I have held for some years since, with some eminent persons of *England*, was the first originall of my undertaking this design. For I alwayes found by them, a great probability of obtaining what I now request, whilst they affirmed that at this time the minds of men stood very well affected towards us, and that our entrance into this Island would be very acceptable and well pleasing unto them. And from this beginning sprang up in me a semblable affection, and desire of obtaining this purpose. For, for seven yeares on this behalf, I have endeavoured and sollicited it, by letters and other means, without any intervall. For I conceived that our universall dispersion was a necessary circumstance, to be fulfilled before all that shall be accomplished which the Lord hath promised to the people of the *Jewes*, concerning their restauration, and their returning again into their own land, according to those words, *Dan.* 12, 7: *When we shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.* As also, that this our scattering, by little, and little, should be amongst all people, from the *one end of the earth even unto the other*, as it is written *Deut.* 28, 64: I conceived that by the *end of the earth* might be understood this *Island.* And I knew not, but that the Lord who often works by naturall meanes, might have design'd and made choice of me for the bringing about this work. With these proposals therefore, I applyed my self, in all zealous affection to the *English Nation*, congratulating their glorious liberty which at this day they enjoy; together with their prosperous peace.

[1] *Infra*, pp. 143–145.

And I entituled my book named *The Hope of Israel*, to the first Parliament, and the Council of State. And withall declared my intentions. In order to which they sent me a very favorable passe-port. Afterwards I directed my self to the second, and they also sent me another. But at that juncture of time my coming was not presently performed, for that my kindred and friends, considering the checquered, and interwoven vicissitudes, and turns of things here below, embracing me, with pressing importunity, earnestly requested me not to part from them, and would not give over, till their love constrained me to promise, that I would yet awhile stay with them. But notwithstanding all this, I could not be at quiet in my mind (I know not but that it might be through some particular divine providence) till I had anew made my humble addresses to his Highnesse the Lord Protector (whom God preserve), and finding that my coming over would not be altogether unwelcome to him, with those great hopes which I conceived, I joyfully took my leave of my house, my friends, my kindred, all my advantages there, and the country wherein I have lived all my lifetime, under the benign protection, and favour of the Lords, the States Generall, and Magistrates of *Amsterdam; in fine* (I say) I parted with them all, and took my voyage for *England.* Where, after my arrivall, being very courteously received, and treated with much respect, I presented to his most Serene Highnesse a petition, and some desires, which for the most part, were written to me by my brethren the *Jewes*, from severall parts of *Europe*, as your worship may better understand by former relations. Whereupon it pleased His Highnesse to convene an Assembly at *Whitehall*, of Divines, Lawyers, and Merchants, of different persuasions, and opinions. Whereby men's judgements, and sentences were different. Insomuch, that as yet, we have had no finall determination from his most Serene Highnesse. Wherefore those few *Jewes* that were here, despairing of our expected successe, departed hence. And others who desired to come hither, have quitted their hopes, and betaken themselves some to *Italy*, some to *Geneva*, where that Commonwealth hath at this time, most freely granted them many, and great privileges."

II. The Hope of Israel

The first point in Menasseh's story which needs elucidation is his statement that he was originally induced to move in the question of the resettlement of the Jews by the assurances of "some eminent persons of England," that "the minds of men stood very well affected towards us." How had this philo-Semitic sentiment arisen, and who were the men who had communicated it to the Amsterdam Rabbi?

The evolution of English thought which rendered Menasseh ben Israel's enterprise possible is of considerable complexity, but its main features are easily distinguishable. The idea of Religious Liberty in England was due, in its broader aspects, to the struggle between the Baptists and the Calvinists. The Reformation established only a restricted form of Religious Liberty, and it was not until the Baptists found themselves persecuted as the Reformers had been before them, that the cry arose for a liberty of conscience which would embrace all religions. In the Separatist Churches, founded by English refugees in Amsterdam and Geneva, the idea grew and strengthened. The earliest noteworthy tract on the subject—Leonard Busher's "Religious Peace, or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience," published in 1614—was written under the influence of these exiles, and it is noteworthy that already in that work the extension of religious liberty to Jews was specifically demanded.[1] Amsterdam was at that time the seat of a flourishing Jewish community, some of whose members came into contact with the philo-Jewish refugees. In this way they probably learnt to understand the political significance of the successive rise of the Puritans and Independents, for at the very beginning of the Civil War the Royalist spies in Holland noted that the Jews sympathised

[1] Tracts on Liberty of Conscience, 1614–1661 (Hanserd Knollys Soc.), pp. 28, 30–31, 47, 71.

with the Republicans, and even alleged that they had offered them "considerable sums of money to carry on their designs."[1]

The progress of Religious Liberty in the seventeenth century reached its highest point, when in 1645 the Independents captured the Army under the scheme known as the "New Model." Meanwhile Roger Williams, the famous Baptist, who had already founded in America a community based on unrestricted liberty of conscience, had published his "Bloudy Tenent of Persecution," in which he generously pleaded for the Jews.[2] In 1646 a reprint of Leonard Busher's pamphlet was published in London, much to the joy of the Separatists in Amsterdam,[3] and a year later Hugh Peters, one of Cromwell's Army Chaplains, wrote his "Word for the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom," in which he proposed that "strangers, even Jews [be] admitted to trade and live with us."[4] The question of the readmission of the Jews was, however, still far from taking practical shape. Although frequently referred to, it had only been raised incidentally as an illustration of the advanced tendencies of the advocates of Religious Liberty.

In December 1648, the Independents contrived the famous "Pride's Purge," which put an end to the Presbyterian domination of Parliament. The hopes of the advocates of Religious Liberty ran high, and the Jewish question at once came to the front. The Council of Mechanics, meeting at Whitehall, marked their sense of the meaning of the *coup d'état* by immediately voting "a toleration of all religions whatsoever, not excepting Turkes, nor Papists,

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. VII., MSS. of Sir F. Graham, pp. 401–403.

[2] See reprint by Hanserd Knollys Soc., p. 141. For Roger Williams's services to the cause of Jewish Toleration, see Wolf, "American Elements in the Resettlement" (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 77–78), and Straus, "Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty," pp. 172–178.

[3] Edwards, *Gangræna*, Part III. p. 103.

[4] Art. 10. See also his "Good Work for a Good Magistrate" (1651), pp. 53. 90.

nor Jewes."[1] To this the Council of Army Officers responded with a resolution, the text of which has, unfortunately, not been preserved, in which they favoured the widest scheme of Religious Liberty. It was, indeed, rumoured at the time that the Jews were specifically mentioned in the resolution.[2] However that may be, it is certain that in the following month two Baptists of Amsterdam, Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer, were encouraged to present a petition to Lord Fairfax and the General Council of Officers, in which they asked that "the statute of banishment" against the Jews might be repealed. The petition, we are told, was "favourably received, with a promise to take it into speedy consideration when the present more public affairs are dispatched.[3]

Unfortunately, the "more public affairs" obstructed the triumph of Religious Liberty, and with it the Jewish cause, for a good many years. In the same month that Mrs. Cartwright's petition was considered, Charles I. was beheaded, and the chiefs of the Revolution, with a great work of reconstruction before them, felt that they must proceed cautiously. Toleration of the Jews meant unrestricted liberty of conscience, and this was held by the extreme Independents to imply not only the abolition of an Established Church, but a licence to the multitude of sects—many of them of the maddest and most blasphemous tendencies—which had been hatched by Laudian persecution and the reaction of the Civil War. Cromwell and his advisers were resolved to pursue a more conservative policy, and the toleration plans of the Independents were accordingly shelved. For a hundred years—until, indeed, Pelham's "Jew Bill" in 1753—they were not heard of in this purely secular shape again.

[1] *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, Dec. 19–26, 1648.

[2] Firth, "Notes on the History of the Jews in England, 1648–1660." *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv.

[3] "The Petition of the Jews for the Repealing of the Act of Parliament for their Banishment out of England" (Lond., 1649).

The cause of Religious Liberty was, however, not the only force which was working in the country for the re-admission of the Jews. The religious fervour of the nation had been stirred to a high pitch, and there were few men whose minds had not become influenced by Messianic and other mystical beliefs. It is curious indeed to note that this current of thought ran parallel with the evolution of the secular idea of Toleration. Seven years after the first publication of Leonard Busher's famous Toleration pamphlet, Mr. Sergeant Finch wrote anonymously a book entitled "The Calling of the Jewes" (1621), with a prefatory epistle in Hebrew, in which he invited the children of Israel to realise the prophecies by asserting their national existence in Palestine. At the same time he called upon all Christian princes to do homage to the Jewish nation. This early manifestation of Zionism did not meet with much sympathy in high places, for James I. was so incensed at it that he clapped its publisher into jail.[1] The book, however, was a symptom, and the movement it represented only derived strength from persecution. The gloomier the lot of the sectaries, the more intense became their reliance on the Messianic prophecies. Even after the triumph of the Puritan cause, the sanest Independents held to them firmly side by side with their belief in Religious Liberty; and in the Cartwright petition we find both views expounded. Extremists like the Fifth Monarchy Men made them the pivots for fresh outbursts of Sectarianism. Judaical sects arose, the members of which endeavoured to live according to the Levitical Law, even practising circumcision. Prosecutions for such practices may be traced back to 1624.[2] Some of the saints, like Everard the Leveller, publicly called themselves Jews;[3] others went to Amsterdam, and were formally received into the synagogue.[4] Colchester was the

[1] Fuller, "A Pisgah-sight of Palestine," Book V. p. 194.
[2] Calendar State Papers, Dom. 1623–25, p. 435.
[3] Whitelock, "Memorials," p. 397.
[4] De Castro, *Auswahl*, loc. cit.

headquarters of one of these Judaical sects, but there were others in London and in Wales.[1] The practical effect of this movement was not only the production of a very widespread philo-Semitism, but a strong conviction that, inasmuch as the conversion of the Jews was an indispensable preliminary of the Millennium, their admission to England, where they might meet the godliest people in the world, was urgently necessary.

It was this feeling which, on the collapse of the Toleration movement in 1649, began to make itself most loudly heard. Edward Nicholas, John Sadler, John Dury, Henry Jessey, Roger Williams, and even Thomas Fuller, who was far from being a mystic, urged this view on the public, and an agitation for the Readmission of the Jews, as a religious duty outside the problem of Religious Liberty, was set on foot. This mystical agitation found a response in what to us must at first sight appear a strangely inappropriate quarter. It brought forth from Amsterdam a Latin pamphlet, entitled "Spes Israelis," with a prefatory address "To the Parliament, the Supreme Court of England," the author of which was Menasseh ben Israel, one of the Rabbis of the congregation. This pamphlet illustrates the inception of the enterprise for the Resettlement of the Jews in England, which its author endeavoured to carry out six years later.

Menasseh ben Israel was the son of a Marrano of Lisbon, who had suffered at the hands of the Inquisition, and had, as a result, taken up his abode in Amsterdam. Menasseh was educated under the care of Rabbi Isaac Uziel, and, at the age of eighteen, was ordained a Rabbi. He was an indefatigable student, became a mine of learning, an accomplished linguist, a fluent writer, and a voluble preacher. His attainments made considerable noise in the world, at a time when public attention was riveted on Biblical prophecy,

[1] Edwards, *Gangræna*, i. p. 121 ; ii. pp. 26, 31 ; "Middlesex County Records," vol. iii. pp. 186–87 ; *Anabaptisticum Pantheon*, p. 233 ; Hickes, *Peculium Dei*, pp. 19–26. There are many other scattered references in the literature of the period to this curious movement.

and the question of its fulfilment through the Jews. His voluminous writings obtained for him a high reputation as a scholar, and the readiness with which he afforded information to all who corresponded with him made him many influential friends, who spread his fame far and wide. The secret of the distinction Menasseh secured for himself, in spite of the weaknesses of his character and the eccentricity of his mental tendency, lies in the fact that the world in which he lived was very largely given over to philo-Semitism, and to the special form of mysticism to which he had yielded himself. His alliance with a scion of the Abarbanel family, in whose tradition of Davidic descent he was a firm believer, inspired him with the idea that he was destined to promote the coming of the Messiah; and hence the wild dreams of the English Millenarians appealed to him with something of a personal force. It was not, however, until the triumph of the Republican cause in England that he resolved to throw in his lot with the Puritan mystics, and even then he had some difficulty, as we may readily believe, in adopting an attitude which would at once conciliate the English Conversionists, and harmonise with his allegiance to the synagogue.[1]

At first his sympathies, like those of most of the leading members of the Amsterdam community, seem to have been Royalist, for in 1642 we find him extolling the queen of Charles I. in an oration.[2] In 1647 he was still far from recognising in the Puritan revolt a movement calling for his Messianic sympathy; for, writing to an English friend in that year, he described the Civil War, not, as he afterwards believed it to be, as a struggle of the godly against the

[1] A good life of Menasseh ben Israel has yet to be written. Short biographies have been published by Kayserling (English translation in *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, vol. ii.); the Rev. Dr. H. Adler, Chief Rabbi of the British Empire (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i.); and Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. x.). None of these is exhaustive, or based on bedrock material.

[2] "Gratulação ao seren. Raynha Henri. Maria, dignissima corsorte ao august; Carlo, Rey da Grande Britannia, Francia e Hebernia" (Amst., 1642).

ungodly, but as a Divine punishment for the expulsion of his co-religionists from Britain in the thirteenth century.[1] This letter is interesting as showing that his mind was then already beginning to be exercised by the Resettlement question; but he evidently had as yet no definite idea of taking any practical action. In the autumn of 1649 a method of action was suggested to him by a letter he received from the well-known English Puritan, John Dury, whose acquaintance he had made in Amsterdam five years previously.

A friend of John Dury, one Thomas Thorowgood, was deeply interested in the missionary labours of the famous evangelist, John Eliot, among the American Indians; and in order to prevail upon the philo-Jewish public to provide money for the support of the mission, had compiled a treatise showing that the American Indians were the Lost Tribes. This work was largely founded on the conjectures of the early Spanish missionaries, who had up to that time a monopoly of this solution of the Ten Tribes problem. It was written in 1648, and dedicated to the King, but the renewal of the Civil War in that year prevented its publication.[2] Thorowgood thereupon sent the proofs of the first part of the work to John Dury to read. It happened that Dury, while at the Hague in 1644, had heard some stories about the Ten Tribes which had very much interested him. One was to the effect that a Jew, named Antonio de Montezinos, or Aaron Levy, had, while travelling in South America, met a race of savages in the Cordilleras, who recited the *Shema*,[3] practised Jewish ceremonies, and were, in short, Israelites of the Tribe of Reuben. Montezinos had related his story to Menasseh ben Israel,

[1] Harl. Misc., vol. vii. p. 623; *infra*, p. lxxvii.

[2] Thorowgood, "Jews in America" (1660), Postscript to the "Epistle Dedicatory."

[3] The Declaration of the Unity of God, the fundamental teaching of Judaism (Deut. vi. 4–9). *Shema* means "Hear," and it is the first word of verse 4: "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one God."

and had even embodied it in an affidavit executed under oath before the chiefs of the Amsterdam Synagogue. As soon as Dury received Thorowgood's treatise, he remembered this story, and at once wrote to Menasseh ben Israel for a copy of the affidavit. The courteous Rabbi sent it to him by return of post,[1] and it was printed for the first time as an appendix to an instalment of Thorowgood's treatise, which, at Dury's instance, was published in January 1650.[2]

This incident, coupled with some letters he received from the notorious Millenarian, Nathaniel Holmes, came as a ray of light to Menasseh. For five years he had had Montezinos's narrative by him, and had not regarded it as of sufficient importance to publish. He had, perhaps, doubted the wisdom of publishing it, seeing that it tended to substantiate a theory of purely Jesuitical origin, for which no sanction could be found in Jewish records or legend. Moreover, he had no strong views on the prophetical bearing of the question, as we may see by a letter he addressed to Holmes as late as the previous summer, in which he stated that he had grave doubts as to the time and manner of the coming of the Messiah.[3] Now, however, the question began to grow clear to him, and it dawned upon him that the long-neglected narrative of Montezinos might be used for a better purpose than the support of Christian missions in New England. The story was, if true, a proof of the increasing dispersion of Israel. Daniel had foretold that the scattering of the Holy People would be the forerunner of their Restoration, and a verse in Deuteronomy had explained that the scattering would be "from one end of the earth even to the other end of the earth." It was clear from Montezinos and other travellers that they had already reached one end of the earth. Let them enter England

[1] Dury, "Epistolary Discourse to Mr. Thomas Thorowgood" (1649).
[2] Thorowgood, "Jews in America" (1650), pp. 129 *et seq.*
[3] The text of the letter has not been preserved, but its contents are summarised in Holmes's reply, printed in an appendix to Felgenhauer's *Bonum Nuncium Israeli.*

and the other end would be attained. Thus the promises of the Almighty would be fulfilled, and the Golden Age would dawn. "I knew not," he wrote later on, "but that the Lord who often works by naturall meanes, might have design'd, and made choice of me, for bringing about this work."[1] In this hope he wrote the famous מקוה ישראל which in 1650 burst on the British public under the title of the "Hope of Israel."

The central idea of this booklet did not occur to Menasseh immediately on receiving John Dury's letter. His first intention, as he explained in a letter dated November 25, 1649, was to write a treatise on the Dispersion of the Ten Tribes for the information of Dury and his friends. The volume, however, grew under his pen, and a week later he announced to Dury his larger plan. His letter gives a complete synopsis of the work, and he finishes up by informing Dury that "I prove at large that the day of the promised Messiah unto us doth draw near."[2] Thus he had already made up his mind on a question which, only a few months before, he had assured Holmes was "uncertain," and was intended to be uncertain. Holmes was at the time unaware of his conversion, for, on December 24, he wrote to him an expostulatory letter, in which, curiously enough, he advised him to study the Danielic Prophecies.[3] Still, Menasseh does not seem to have fully grasped the application of his treatise to the Resettlement question, for neither in the body of the work nor in the Spanish edition does he refer to it. It was only when he composed the Latin edition that his scheme reached maturity. To that edition he prefixed a dedication to the English Parliament, eulogising its stupendous achievements, and supplicating "your favour and good-will to our nation now scattered almost all over the earth."

[1] *Vindiciæ Judæorum*, *infra*, pp. 143–144.
[2] Dury, "Epistolary Discourse." For text of the letters, see *infra*, p. lxxviii.
[3] *Bonum Nuncium*, loc. cit.

The tract produced a profound impression throughout England. That an eminent Jewish Rabbi should bless the new Republican Government, and should bear testimony to its having "done great things valiantly," was peculiarly gratifying to the whole body of Puritans. To the Millenarians and other sectaries it was a source of still deeper satisfaction, for their wild faith now received the sanction of one of the Chosen People, a sage of Israel, of the Seed of the Messiah. Besides the Latin edition which Dury distributed among all the leading Puritans, and which was [illegible]y read in Parliament, two English editions issued [illegible]ously by Moses Wall were rapidly sold. Never- its effect proved transitory. Sober politicians, who ognised that the new-fledged Republic had, as Fair-, "more public affairs" to despatch than the Jewish ı, had begun to fear lest their hands might be forced ıasseh's *coup*. This feeling was strikingly reflected ıct by Sir Edward Spencer, one of the members of ent for Middlesex. Addressing himself with feline ı "to my deare brother, Menasseh ben Israel, the e Philosopher," he expressed his readiness to agree dmission of the Jews on twelve conditions artfully l to strengthen the hands of the sectaries who be- that, besides the dispersion of the Jews, their con- was also a necessary condition of the Millennium.[1] 's tract was the signal for a revulsion of feeling. ıfterwards one of Menasseh's firmest friends, threw ɔn the authenticity of Montezinos's story,[2] and Fuller

tract has been the source of a curious misunderstanding. Kayser- pparently never examined more of it than the title-page, on which the lescribed as "E. S. Middlesex," ascribed it to "Lord Middlesex," led it as favourable to Menasseh (*Misc. Heb. Lit.*, ii. p. 33). Had at the Latin translation at the end he would have found the name ıor given in full. Moreover, the writer, so far from being philo- xpressly states that the object of his pamphlet was the "taking off ıll of our too great desire of entertayning the unbeleeving Nation of the Jewes." Kayserling's errors have been adopted without inquiry by Graetz, Adler, and other writers.

[2] "Rights of the Kingdom," p. 39.

did not scruple to criticise the Zionist theory on practical grounds.[1] Even the faithful Jessey held his peace in tacit sympathy with Spencer's scheme. As for Menasseh, he showed no disposition to acquiesce in Spencer's proposals. The result was that the sensation gradually died away, though a few stalwart Tolerationists like Hugh Peters still clamoured for unconditional Readmission.[2]

Thus both the Toleration and Messianic movements proved unavailing for the purposes of the Jewish Restoration. There remained a third view of the question which made less noise in the world, but which was destined to bring about gradually and silently a real and lasting solution—the view of Political Expediency.

III. Cromwell's Policy

The statesmen of the Commonwealth, who knew so well how to conjure with human enthusiasm, were essentially practical men. To imagine that they were the slaves of the great religious revival which had enabled them to overcome the loyalist inspiration of the cavaliers is entirely to misconceive their character and aims. The logical outcome of that revival, and of the triumph of the Puritan arms, would have been the Kingdom of Saints, but Cromwell's ambition aimed at something much more conventional. Imperial expansion and trade ascendency filled a larger place in his mind than the Other-worldly inspirations which had carried him to power.

With the unrestricted Toleration principles of the Baptists he had no sympathy, and still less with the Messianic phantasies of the Fifth Monarchy Men which Menasseh ben Israel had virtually embraced. His ideas on Religious Liberty were certainly large and far in advance of his

[1] "Pisgah-sight of Palestine," Book V. pp. 194 *et seq.*
[2] "Good Work," &c., *loc. cit.*

times,[1] but they were essentially the ideas of a churchman. Their limits are illustrated by his ostentatious patronage in 1652 of Owens' scheme of a Toleration confined to Christians.[2] Still he was not the slave of these limits. The ingenious distinction he drew between the Papistry of France and that of Spain, when it became necessary for him to choose between them, and his complete disregard of the same principles in the case of the Portuguese alliance, show how readily he subordinated his strongest religious prejudices to political exigencies. As for the mystics and ultra-democrats, his views were set forth very clearly in his speech to the new Parliament in September 1651, when he opposed the Millenarians, the Judaisers, and the Levellers by name.[3] It is impossible for any one reading this speech side by side with Menasseh ben Israel's tracts to believe that the author of it had any sympathy with the wilder motives actuating the Jewish Rabbi.

What was it, then, that brought these two different characters so closely together? That the Readmission of the Jews to England was one of Cromwell's own schemes —part and parcel of that dream of Imperial expansion which filled his latter days with its stupendous adumbration and vanished so tragically with his early death—it is impossible to doubt. We have no record of his views on the subject, beyond a short and ambiguous abstract of his speech at the Whitehall Conferences, but there is ample evidence that he was the mainspring of the whole movement, and that Menasseh was but a puppet in his hands. His main motives are not difficult to guess. Cromwell's statecraft was, as I have said, not entirely or even essentially governed by religious policy. He desired to make England

[1] Writing to Crawford in 1643, he says: "The State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it—that satisfies. . . . Bear with men of different minds from yourself." Carlyle, "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," i. p. 148.

[2] Gardiner, "History of the Commonwealth," vol. ii.

[3] Carlyle, "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," vol. iii. pp. 23, 25, 26.

great and prosperous, as well as pious and free, and for these purposes he had to consider the utility of his subjects even before he weighed their orthodoxy. Now the Jews could not but appeal to him as very desirable instruments of his colonial and commercial policy. They controlled the Spanish and Portuguese trade; they had the Levant trade largely in their hands; they had helped to found the Hamburg Bank, and they were deeply interested in the Dutch East and West Indian companies. Their command of bullion, too, was enormous, and their interest in shipping was considerable.[1] Moreover, he knew something personally of the Jews, for he was acquainted with some of the members of the community of Marranos then established in London, and they had proved exceedingly useful to him as contractors and intelligencers.[2] There is, indeed, reason to believe that some of these Marranos had been brought into the country by the Parliamentary Government as early as 1643 with the specific object of supplying the pecuniary necessities of the new administration.[3]

Until the end of 1651 the Readmission question presented no elements of urgency, because there was a chance of its favourable solution without its being made the object of a special effort on the part of the Government or the legislature. By the treaty of coalition proposed to the Netherlands by the St. John mission early in 1651, the Jewish question would have solved itself, for the Hebrew merchants of Amsterdam would have *ipso facto* acquired in England the same rights as they enjoyed in Holland. That proposal, however, broke down, and as a result the famous Navigation Act was passed. The object of that measure was to exclude foreign nations from the colonial trade, and to dethrone the Dutch from their supremacy in the carrying

[1] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 73–74; vol. ii. pp. 17–18; Wolf, "Jewish Emancipation in the City" (*Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 30, 1894); Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. x. p. 19.

[2] Wolf, "Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers" (Lond., 1891).

[3] S. R. Gardiner in the *Academy*, March 4, 1882.

and distributing traffic of Europe. Consequently it supplied a strong inducement to Jewish merchants—especially those of Amsterdam who were then trading with Jamaica and Barbados—to transfer their counting-houses to London. As such an immigration would have well served the policy embodied in the Navigation Act, it became desirable that some means of legalising Jewish residence in England should be found, and hence the question of Readmission was brought within the field of practical politics. This was the new form in which it presented itself. It was no longer a question of Religious Toleration or of the hastening of the Millennium, but purely a question of political expediency.

It appears that the St. John mission, when its failure became probable, was instructed to study the Jewish question, and probably to enter into negotiations with leading Jews in Amsterdam. Certain it is that its members saw a great deal of Menasseh ben Israel during their sojourn in Holland, and that Cromwell's benevolent intentions were conveyed to him. Thurloe, who was secretary to the mission, had several conferences with the Rabbi, and the Synagogue entertained the members of the mission, notwithstanding that public opinion ran high against them.[1] Strickland, the colleague of St. John, and formerly ambassador at the Hague, was ever afterwards regarded as an authority on the Jewish question, for he served on most of the Committees appointed to consider Menasseh's petitions. Still more significant is the fact that within a few weeks of the return of the Embassy a letter, the text of which has not been preserved, was received from Menasseh by the Council of State, and an influential committee, on which Cromwell himself served, was at once appointed to peruse and answer it.[2] Towards the end of the following year two passes couched

[1] *Vindiciæ Judæorum*, p. 5; *infra*, p. 111; "Humble Addresses," *infra*, p. 77.

[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom. (1651), p. 472.

in flattering terms were issued to the Rabbi to enable him to come to England.[1]

Meanwhile, the long-feared war broke out, and negotiations were perforce suspended. From 1652 to 1654 the popular agitation for the Readmission of the Jews spluttered weakly in pamphlets and broadsheets. In 1653 there was a debate in Parliament on the subject, but no conclusion was arrived at.[2] In the following year, shortly after the conclusion of peace, a new element was introduced into the question by the appearance on the scene of a fresh petitioner from Holland, one Manuel Martinez Dormido, a brother-in-law of Menasseh ben Israel, and afterwards well known in England as David Abarbanel Dormido.

The mission of Dormido was clearly a continuation of Menasseh's enterprise, and it was probably undertaken on the direct invitation of the Protector. With the restoration of peace on terms which rendered persistence in the policy of the Navigation Act indispensable, Cromwell must have been anxious to take the Jewish question seriously in hand. The negotiations opened by Thurloe with Menasseh in 1651 were probably resumed, and an intimation was conveyed to the Jewish Rabbi that the time was ripe for him to come to England and lay his long-contemplated prayer before the Government of the Commonwealth. Menasseh's reasons for not accepting the invitation in person are not difficult to understand. He doubtless refers to them in the passage from the *Vindiciæ* I have already quoted, where he says he was entreated by his kindred and friends, "considering the chequered and interwoven vicissitudes and turns of things here below, not to part from them."[3] His kindred and friends were wise. Owing to his quarrels with his colleagues in the Amsterdam Rabbinate his situation had become precarious, and it might have

[1] Cal. State Papers, Dom. (1651-52), p. 577 ; (1652-53), p. 38.
[2] Thurloe State Papers, vol. i. p. 387 ; Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 233.
[3] *Supra*, p. xvii.

become hopelessly and disastrously compromised had he, in the then incensed state of Dutch feeling against England—a feeling in which the leading Jews of the Netherlands participated—undertaken a mission to the Protector. Hence the delegation of the work to his brother-in-law. An indication of Menasseh's interest in the new mission is afforded by the fact that his only surviving son, Samuel ben Israel, was associated with Dormido, and accompanied him to London.

Unlike his distinguished relative, Dormido had nothing to lose by approaching Cromwell. A Marrano by birth, a native of Andalusia, where he had enjoyed great wealth and held high public office, he had been persecuted by the Inquisition, and compelled to fly to Holland. There he had made a fortune in the Brazil trade, and had become a leading merchant of Amsterdam, and one of the chiefs of the Synagogue. The conquest of Pernambuco by the Portuguese early in 1654 had ruined him, and he found himself compelled to begin life afresh.[1] He saw his opportunity in the mission confided to him by Menasseh. It opened to him the chance of a new career under the powerful protection of the greatest personality in Christendom. Unlike his brother-in-law, he had no Millenarian delusions. The Jewish question appealed to him in something of the same practical fashion that it appealed to Cromwell. While the Protector was seeking the commercial interests of the Commonwealth, Dormido was anxious to repair his own shattered fortunes.

On the 1st September he arrived in London, and at once set about drafting two petitions to Cromwell.[2] In the first of these documents he recited his personal history, the story of his sufferings at the hands of the Inquisition, and of the confiscation of his property by the Portuguese in Pernambuco. He expressed his desire to become a resident

[1] Wolf, "Resettlement of the Jews in England" (1888), p. 9.
[2] For text of these petitions see *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 88–93.

in England and a subject of the Commonwealth, and wound up by praying the Protector to use his good offices with the King of Portugal for the restitution of his fortune. The second petition was a prayer for the Readmission of the Jewish people to England, "graunting them libertie to come with theire famillies and estates, to bee dwellers here with the same eaquallnese and conveniences wch yr inland borne subjects doe enjoy." The petition, after a violent tirade against the Inquisition and the intolerance of the Apostolical Roman Church, pointed out that the Readmission of the Jews would be to the advantage of trade and industry, and would vastly increase the public revenues. These adroit appeals to the chief motives of the Protector's statecraft were followed by a suggestion that in the event of the prayer being granted the petitioner might be appointed to the control and management of the new community, with, of course, appropriate compensation for his services.

Despite their obviously selfish motives, Cromwell received these petitions with significant graciousness. They were at once sent to the Council, with an endorsement, stating that "His Highnes is pleased in an especiall manner to recommend these two annexed papers to the speedy consideracion of the Councell, that the Peticion may receive all due satisfacion and withall convenient speed." It is impossible not to be struck by the pressing nature of this recommendation, when it is considered that the chief petition dealt with a very large and important political question, and that its signatory was a man wholly unknown in England. Cromwell's action can only be explained by the theory that he was, as I have suggested, the instigator of the whole movement. Whether the Council were aware of this or not is impossible to say. They had as yet no decided opinions on the subject, but they saw that it was a large and difficult question, that its bearings were imperfectly known, and that its decision, either one way or the other, involved a very serious responsibility at a time when

the religious element wielded so much power in the country, and withal so capriciously. At the personal instigation of the Protector, however, they consented to appoint a committee to consider the petitions. A month later, taking advantage of a meeting at which Cromwell was not present, the committee verbally reported, and the Council resolved, that it "saw no excuse to make any order." [1]

That Cromwell was disappointed by this result he speedily made clear. In regard to the Resettlement petition, he did not care to take the responsibility of giving a decision; but on the other petition he took immediate steps to afford satisfaction to Dormido, in spite of the refusal of the Council to have anything to do with it. He addressed an autograph letter to the King of Portugal, asking him as a personal favour to restore Dormido's property, or to make him full compensation for his losses.[2] Seeing that Dormido was an alien, and had absolutely no claim on the British Government, this personal intervention by Cromwell on his behalf affords a further strong presumption of his privity to the Jewish mission. It is also not a little significant that a few months later the Protector granted a patent of denization to Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, the chief of the little Marrano community in London, and his two sons.[3]

The question was, however, not allowed to rest here. Cromwell wanted an authoritative decision, which would enable him to do more than merely protect individual Jews, and it was clear that this could not be obtained unless a more important person than Dormido were induced to take the matter in hand. The question had to be raised to a higher level, and for this purpose it was necessary that it should make some noise in the country. Only one European Jew had sufficient influence in England to stimulate the popular

[1] State Papers, Dom. Interregnum, i. 75 (1654), pp. 596, 620.
[2] Rawl. MSS., A 260, fol. 57. Text of this letter is given in *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 93.
[3] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii. pp. 18, 45–46.

imagination, and to justify the Government in taking serious steps for the solution of the question. That man was the author of the "Hope of Israel." In May 1655 it was decided to send Samuel ben Israel back to Amsterdam to lay the case before his father, and persuade him to come to London.[1] There is no mystery as to who suggested this step. Menasseh in his diplomatic way merely tells us he was informed that his "coming over would not be altogether unwelcome to His Highness the Lord Protector."[2] There is, however, a letter extant from John Sadler to Richard Cromwell, written shortly after Oliver's death, in which it is definitely stated that Menasseh was invited "by some letters of your late royall father."[3] Sadler no doubt spoke from personal knowledge, for in 1654 he was acting as private secretary to the Protector, and the endorsement on Dormido's petitions recommending them to the Council bears his signature.[4] Under these circumstances we can well understand that Menasseh was induced, as he says, to "conceive great hopes," and that he resolved to undertake the journey. In October he arrived in London with the MS. of his famous "Humble Addresses" in his pocket.

During the five months that Menasseh was preparing for his journey, Cromwell was not idle. Colonial questions were occupying his mind very largely, and on these questions he was in the habit of receiving advice from one at least of the London Marranos, Simon de Caceres, a relative of Spinoza, and an eminent merchant who had large interests in the West Indies, and had enjoyed the special favour of the King of Denmark and the Queen of Sweden.[5] It was no doubt at the instigation of De Caceres that in April 1655 Cromwell sent a Jewish physician, Abraham de

[1] Cal. of State Papers, Dom., 1655, p. 585.
[2] *Supra*, p. xvii. [3] *Infra*, p. lxxxvii.
[4] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 90.
[5] Wolf, "American Elements in the Resettlement" (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 95–100); Wolf, "Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers," 1891, pp. 11–12.

Mercado, with his son Raphael to Barbados.[1] Later in the year he was deep in consultation with De Caceres in regard to the defences of the newly acquired island of Jamaica, and a plan for the conquest of Chili.[2] The most important result of these confabulations was a scheme for colonising Surinam (which since 1650 had been a British colony) with the Jewish fugitives from Brazil, who had been obliged to leave Pernambuco and Recife through the Portuguese reoccupation of those towns. The idea was, no doubt, suggested by Dormido, himself one of the victims of the Portuguese conquest. In order to attract the Jews, they were granted a charter in which full liberty of conscience was secured to them, together with civil rights, a large measure of communal autonomy, and important land grants.[3]

Thus a beginning was made in the solution of the Jewish question by their admission as citizens to one of the colonial dependencies of Great Britain. This was the first important step achieved by Cromwell, and it illustrates at once his deep interest in the Jewish question, and the practical considerations which actuated him in seeking its solution.

IV. The Appeal to the Nation

On his arrival in London, Menasseh, with his retinue of three Rabbis,[4] was lodged with much ceremony in one of the houses opposite the New Exchange, in the then

[1] Cal. of State Papers, Dom., 1655, p. 583.
[2] "Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers," *loc. cit.*
[3] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 82–86.
[4] Jacob Sasportas, who had acted as a "corrector" in Menasseh's printing-office in Amsterdam, and was afterwards elected Chief Rabbi in London, was a member of the mission (Graetz, vol. x. notes, p. xix). Raguenet states (*Histoire d'Oliver Cromwell*, p. 290) that two other Rabbis accompanied it, "Rabbi Jacob ben Azahel" and "David ben Eliezer of Prague." I have not been able to identify these persons, but tentatively I am disposed to think that "Azahel" is a corruption of "Heschel," and that the person referred to is Rabbi Josua ben Jacob Heschel of Lublin. Menasseh's elder son lived for some time in Lublin, and it is quite possible that Heschel came to London to lay the case of the persecuted Polish Jews before Cromwell.

fashionable Strand, the Piccadilly of its day. These houses were frequented by distinguished strangers who desired to be near the centre of official life at Whitehall, and the fact that Menasseh with his slender purse took up his abode in one of them, instead of seeking hospitality with his brother-in-law or his Marrano co-religionists in the city, shows at once the importance with which his mission was invested.[1] He was the guest of the Protector, bidden to London to discuss high affairs of state, and as such it was obviously inadmissible that he should be hidden away in some obscure address in an East-End Alsatia.

His first task after he had settled down in his "study" in the Strand was to print his "Humble Addresses," in which he appealed to the Protector and the Commonwealth to readmit the Jews, and stated the grounds of his petition. This tract was written and translated into English long before he left Amsterdam. It had probably been prepared three years before, when he first received his passes for England. That it was in existence at a time when his final mission was uncontemplated is proved by its mention in a list of his works he sent to Felgenhauer in February 1655 (N.S.).[2] The title is there given as *De Fidelitate et Utilitate Judaicæ Gentis*, and it is described as *Libellus Anglicus*. This was nine months before he arrived in London, and three and a half months before his brother-in-law sent for him. My impression is that the tract was prepared at the time of the St. John mission in 1651, and that Menasseh had drafted it in accordance with the advice of Thurloe, who had pointed out that the faithfulness and profitableness of the Jewish people were likely to weigh more with Cromwell than the relation of their dispersion to the Messianic Age.

At any rate, the style and matter of the pamphlet

[1] Wolf, "Menasseh ben Israel's Study in London," *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 144 *et seq.*

[2] Felgenhauer, *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, p. 110.

are in welcome contrast to the fantastical theories of the "Hope of Israel," resembling more the matter-of-fact petition of Dormido. The Danielic prophecy is, it is true, still asserted, but only as an aside, the case for the Readmission being argued almost exclusively on grounds of political expediency. Incidentally certain floating calumnies against the Jews—such as their alleged usury, the slaying of infants for the Passover, and their conversion of Christians—are discussed and refuted. In regard to the conversion of Christians, Menasseh had completely changed his attitude since writing the "Hope of Israel," for in that work he had boasted of the conversions made by the Jews in Spain.[1] The prudent restraints Menasseh had imposed upon himself in the composition of this pamphlet are the more marked, since we know that he had in no way modified his original views as expounded in the "Hope of Israel." This is shown by a letter he wrote to Felgenhauer early in the year, thanking him for dedicating to him the *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, one of the maddest rhapsodies ever written.[2] In this letter he reiterated all his former views, with the exception of his belief in the imminence of the Millennium. Nor had he adopted any idea of compromising the question of the Readmission to meet the prejudices or fears of the various political and religious factions in England. His demand was for absolute freedom of ingress and settlement for all Jews and the unfettered exercise of their religion, "whiles we expect with you the Hope of Israel to be revealed." The necessity of such a privilege had been the more impressed upon him by the renewal of the persecutions of his co-religionists in Poland, which had sent a great wave of destitute Jews westward. It was primarily for them and for the Marranos of Spain and Portugal that he hoped to find an unrestricted asylum in England.[3]

[1] *Infra*, p. 47. [2] *Infra*, p. lxxix.

[3] Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. x. pp. 52–82; *Mercurius Politicus*, Dec. 17, 1655; Thurloe State Papers, vol. iv. p. 333.

Until the publication of the "Humble Addresses," there are but scanty clues in the printed literature of the time to the frame of mind in which Menasseh's mission found the English public. It would seem, from the silence of the printing-presses, that the nearer the people approached the Readmission question as a problem of practical politics, the less enthusiastic they became for its solution. This is not difficult to understand. The secular Tolerationists were unable to make headway against the dangers of unlimited sectarianism, to which their doctrines seemed calculated to open the door. Of their chief exponents, Roger Williams was in America, John Sadler was muzzled by the responsibilities of office, and Hugh Peters was without an influential following. Moreover, the prosecutions of James Naylor and Biddle were then prominently before the public as a lesson that Toleration had yet to triumph within the Christian pale. The Conversionists and Millenarians, who formed the great majority of the Judeophils, and who included all Menasseh's own friends except Sadler, attached no importance to the terms on which the Jews might be admitted, and were quite willing to acquiesce in legislative restrictions provided only they were admitted. The Economists and Political Opportunists, represented by Cromwell, Thurloe, Blake, and Monk,[1] did not dare to confess their true motives, since their worldly aims would on the one hand have been condemned by all the religious partisans of the Readmission, and on the other, would have alarmed the merchants of London, who had no desire for the commercial competition of a privileged colony of Hebrew traders.

This discouraging state of affairs was aggravated by foreign and Royalist intrigues. From the moment Menasseh's mission was thought of, the Embassies in London and the Royalist agents set to work to defeat it. The Embassies, especially that of Holland, opposed it on its true grounds,

[1] "Annals of England" (1655), vol. iii. p. 31.

as a development of the policy of the Navigation Act.[1] The Royalists were anxious to defeat it because, as Whitelock says, "it was a business of much importance to the Commonwealth, and the Protector was earnestly set upon it."[2] Moreover, they had hoped to attract the Jews to their own cause, and they had been encouraged in this hope by the substantial assistance already rendered to them by wealthy Hebrews, like the Da Costas and Coronels.[3] An intercepted letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the exiled King, shows that the highest Royalist circles took a profound interest in the Jewish question, and made it their business to be well informed as to its progress. Nicholas, indeed, seems to have known all about the negotiations which preceded Menasseh's journey to England.[4]

As soon as Menasseh reached London, he found himself the object of a host of calumnious legends, clearly designed by the Royalists and foreign agents to disturb the public mind. The story that the Jews had offered to buy St. Paul's Cathedral and the Bodleian Library, which had been circulated unheeded in 1649, was revived.[5] One of Menasseh's retinue was accused of wishing to identify Cromwell as the Jewish Messiah, and it was circumstantially stated that he had investigated the Protector's pedigree in order to prove his Davidic descent.[6] It was declared that Cromwell harboured a design to hand over to the Jews the

[1] The interest of the Embassies in the question is illustrated by the frequent reference made to it in the despatches of Chanut (Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 652), Nieupoort (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 333, 338; "New York Colonial MSS.," vol. i. pp. 579, 583), Sagredo and Salvetti (*Revue des Études Juives*, No. 11, pp. 103–104). Nieupoort's view is shown by the assurance he extracted from Menasseh that there was no intention to invite Dutch Jews to England (Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 333).

[2] "Memorials," p. 618.

[3] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 70–71, 75.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[5] *Infra*, p. 118. *London News Letter*, April 2, 1649 (Cartes Letters, vol. i. p. 275).

[6] Jesse, "England under the Stuarts," vol. ii. p. 297; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 275.

farming of the customs.[1] At the same time their character was painted in the darkest colours.[2] One of the most insidious forms that this campaign took was an attempt to show that the hope of converting the Jews, by which the larger number of the friends of the Readmission were actuated, was illusory, and that so far from becoming Christians, the Jews would "stone Christ to death." For this purpose the pen of a converted Jew, named Paul Isaiah, who had served as a trooper in Rupert's Horse, was requisitioned.[3] It was a hazardous experiment to employ Isaiah, for he might easily have been hailed by the Conversionists as a proof of the convertibility of the Jews. It was, however, notorious that he had learnt the ethics of the wilder Cavalier swashbucklers only too well,[4] and he was consequently regarded rather as an "awful example" of the sort of Jew who might be expected to listen to the Gospel than as an encouragement to hope for the salvation of the whole people.

The publication of the "Humble Addresses" only aggravated these popular misgivings. While the clerical and commercial Anti-Semites disputed all the propositions of Menasseh's pamphlet, the visionaries and friends of Israel strongly resented the "sinfulness" of its insistence on the profitableness of the Jews. The bias of public feeling, as revealed by the tracts to which the "Humble Addresses" gave rise, was distinctly less favourable than in 1649, and was overwhelmingly hostile to an unreserved acquiescence in the terms of the Jewish petition. In 1649 an honest attempt to understand Judaism was made, as we may see by the publication of Chilmead's translation of Leo de Modena's *Historia dei riti ebraici*. There is no trace of an appeal to this or any similarly

[1] Violet, "Petition against the Jews," p. 2.

[2] The violence of such tracts as Prynne's "Demurrer," Ross's "View of the Jewish Religion," and the anonymous "Case of the Jews Stated," has no parallel in the literature of the time.

[3] Paul Isaiah, "The Messias of the Christians and the Jews."

[4] Prynne, "Demurrer," Part I. p. 73.

authoritative work in 1655–56, except in a stray passage of an isolated protest against the calumnies heaped on the Jews.[1] On the contrary, the efforts of the new students of Judaism, like Alexander Ross, were devoted to proving that the Jews had nothing in common with Christians, and that their religion "is not founded on Moses and the Law, but on idle and foolish traditions of the Rabbins"—that it was, in fact, a sort of Paganism.[2] The historical attacks on the Jews were the most powerful that had yet been made, while the replies to them were few and by obscure writers.[3] What is most significant, however, is that the chief friends of the Jews—the men who had encouraged Menasseh six years before—were now either silent or openly in favour of restrictions which would have rendered the Readmission a barren privilege. Sadler did not reiterate the Judeophil teachings of his "Rights of the Kingdom"; there was no echo of Hugh Peters's "Good Work for a Good Magistrate," with its uncompromising demand for liberty of conscience; and the pseudonymous author of "An Apology for the Honourable Nation of Jews," which had so strongly impressed the public in 1648, was dumb. John Dury, who had practically started the first agitation in favour of the Jews, was now studying Jewish disabilities at Cassel, with a view to their introduction into England;[4] and Henry Jessey, the author of "The Glory of Judah and Israel," to the testimonies of which Menasseh confidently appealed in the closing paragraph of his "Humble Addresses," had been won over to the necessity of restrictions.[5] Not a single influential voice was raised in England in support of Menasseh's proposals, either on the ground of

[1] Copley, "Case of the Jews is Altered," p. 4.
[2] "View of the Jewish Religion."
[3] See especially Prynne's "Demurrers," and "Anglo-Judæus," by W. H. Only three ungrudging defences of the Jews were published—Copley's "Case of the Jews," D. L.'s "Israel's Condition and Cause Pleaded" (a very feeble reply to Prynne), and Collier's "Brief Answer."
[4] Dury, "A Case of Conscience." Harl. Misc., vol. vii. p. 256.
[5] "Life of Henry Jessey," pp. 67–68.

love for the Jews or religious liberty. The temper of the unlettered people, especially the mercantile classes, is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that only a few months before a Jewish beggar had been mobbed in the city, owing to the inflammatory conduct of a merchant, who had followed the poor stranger about the Poultry shouting, "Give him nothing; he is a cursed Jew."[1]

Undeterred by the inhospitable attitude of the public, Menasseh formally opened his negotiations with the Government of the Commonwealth. His first step was to pay a visit to Whitehall, and present copies of his "Humble Addresses" to the Council of State. He was unfortunate in the day he selected for this visit, for it happened to be one of the rare occasions when Cromwell was not present at the Council's deliberations. The result was that, as on the similar occasion of the consideration of the report on Dormido's petition, the Council felt itself free to take no action. It contented itself with instructing its clerk, Mr. Jessop, "to go forth and receive the said books," and then proceeded with other business.[2]

That the Council had no desire to assume the responsibility of deciding the thorny Jewish question soon became manifest. A fortnight after Menasseh's abortive visit to Whitehall, Cromwell brought down to the Council a petition which had been handed to him by the Jewish Rabbi, in which were set forth categorically the several "graces and favours" by which it was proposed that the Readmission of the Jews should be effected.[3] The Protector evidently felt none of the misgivings of his advisers. It is probable, indeed, that in his masterful way he misunderstood the trend of public feeling. He had convinced himself that, as an act of policy, some concession to the Jews was desirable. His strong instinct for religious liberty

[1] Philo-Judæus, "The Resurrection of Dead Bones,' p. 102.
[2] State Papers, Domestic. Interregnum, vol. i. 76, p. 353.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 374. For text of petition, see *infra*, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiv.

inclined him favourably to the more academic aspects of the question, and his profound sympathy with persecuted peoples had been stirred by the accounts Menasseh had personally given him of the dire straits of the Jews in Poland, Sweden, and the Holy Land, and of the cruelties inflicted on them in Spain and Portugal.[1] Moreover, his patriotism revolted at the idea that Protestant England should be *particeps criminis* in a policy of oppression which was so peculiarly identified with Papistical error. Thus impressed, he cared little for the outcries of the pamphleteers or the nervous scruples of his councillors, and he set himself to force on a prompt solution. At his instance a motion was made "That the Jews deserving it may be admitted into this nation to trade and traffic and dwell amongst us as Providence shall give occasion," [2] and this, together with the petition of Menasseh and his "Humble Addresses," was at once referred to a Committee. At the same time it was made clear to that body that the Protector expected an early report.[3]

So much is evident from the fact that the Committee met the same afternoon and reported the next morning. Its task was not an easy one. The feeling of the Council was by no means hostile to the Jews, but it had no enthusiasm for their cause, and it probably felt that an extension of official toleration beyond the limits of Christianity was a hazardous experiment. On the other hand, it was no longer possible for it to express this feeling in the same unceremonious fashion as had been done in the case of Dormido. The Jewish question had become the question of the day owing to Menasseh's visit. Public feeling had been deeply stirred by it, and Cromwell had placed it in the forefront of his personal solicitude. Some action was necessary. The Committee seems to have discreetly resolved that the wisest course to pursue was one

[1] Harl. Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 618.
[2] *Infra*, p. lxxxiv. [3] State Papers, Dom. Inter., i. 76, p. 374.

which would absolve it of responsibility, and leave Cromwell and the outside public to fight it out between them. Accordingly it reported that it felt itself incompetent to offer any advice to the Council, and it suggested that the views of the nation should be ascertained by the summoning of a Conference of representative Englishmen who might assist it in framing a report.

This resolution was duly reported to the Council on the following day, when Cromwell was again present. How little the Protector estimated the difficulties in his path is shown by the fact that the Committee's recommendation was at once acted upon. John Lisle, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Sir Gilbert Pickering, three members of the Committee notoriously devoted to Cromwell, were instructed to meet the Lord President the same afternoon, and draw up a list of the personages to be summoned to the proposed Conference.[1] The list was duly presented to the Council on the following morning, and, under the vigilant eye of the Protector, approved. At the same time the terms of a circular convening the Conference were agreed upon, and the 4th December was fixed for the meeting.[2]

Nothing is more significant than the rapidity with which these steps were taken. On Tuesday the 13th November Menasseh's petition was sprung on the reluctant Council. On the following Thursday summonses to a National Conference were being sent out from Whitehall, the Council having meanwhile held three meetings, at all of which the Jewish question was discussed, and a Committee specially charged with the question having held two further meetings. In all this we may clearly trace the personal insistence of the Protector.

Bruited abroad through the congregations of the divines and the constituents of the politicians and merchants to whom the summonses to the Conference had been addressed, the question of the Readmission of the Jews now came to

[1] State Papers, Dom. Inter., i. 76, p. 375.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 378–379. For text of Circular see *infra*, p. lxxxiv.

the forefront of national politics. Amid considerable popular excitement, the Conference met in the Council Chamber at Whitehall[1] on the first Tuesday in December.

It was a notable gathering—one of the most notable in the whole history of the Commonwealth. The statesmen present were the most eminent on the active list of the moment. There was Henry Lawrence, the Lord President, with four of his civilian colleagues on the Council, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolseley, Lisle the regicide, and Francis Rous. Close by was Walter Strickland, the diplomatist, who had represented the Commonwealth at the Hague, and had shared with Oliver St. John the honours and mortifications of the famous mission of 1651. In the same inner circle were John Lambert, "the army's darling," and one of the most brilliant of Cromwell's veterans, and William Sydenham, one of the founders of the Protectorate. The law was represented by Sir John Glynne, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, and William Steele, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Lord Chief Justice St. John had also been invited, but he astutely stayed away. Those who knew St. John must have regarded his absence as ominous. On behalf of the mercantile community there appeared Alderman Dethick, the Lord Mayor of London, Alderman Cressett of the Charterhouse, Alderman Riccards, and Sheriff Thompson. These men were official nonentities, for the real representatives of Commerce were Sir Christopher Pack, the late Lord Mayor and the leading mercantile authority in the country, William Kiffen, the wealthy merchant-parson, and the regicide Owen Rowe, now deputy-governor of the Bermuda Company.

It was, however, on the religious side that the Conference was strongest. Sixteen theologians and divines, the flower of Puritan piety and learning, responded to Cromwell's invitation. There was Dr. Cudworth, Regius Professor of Hebrew, the philosophic opponent of atheism, whose

[1] *Publick Intelligencer*, December 10, 1655.

"Intellectual System" is an English classic. There, too, were Dr. Owen, most famous of Independent divines and most fearless of the champions of religious liberty, and John Caryll, the great Puritan Bible commentator. Oxford University sent Dr. Goodwin, President of Magdalen College, and Henry Wilkinson, Canon of Christ Church. Cambridge appeared in the person of the learned Dr. Whitchcote, Provost of King's. Among the preachers were William Bridge of Yarmouth; Daniel Dyke, one of Cromwell's chaplains in ordinary; Henry Jessey, the Baptist Judeophil and friend of Menasseh; Thomas Manton, mildest and most genial of Presbyterians, "the prelate of the Commonwealth," as Wood calls him; Dr. Newcomen, one of the authors of "Smectymnuus"; Philip Nye, the sturdy Independent and champion of toleration; Anthony Tuckney, one of the most prominent divines of the Westminster Assembly, and three lesser lights, William Benn of Dorchester, Walter Craddock of All Hallows the Great, London, and Samuel Fairclough. John Carter, the vehement enemy of Presbyterianism and monarchy, could not attend, for he was on his deathbed at Norwich when the invitation reached him.[1]

It is not difficult to see that the Conference had been carefully organised with a view to a decision favourable to the Jews. The great majority of the members were conspicuous for their attachment to the cause of religious toleration, while not a few of the laymen were equally notorious for their devotion—some for their subservience—to Cromwell. And yet its upshot proved very different from what the Protector anticipated.[2]

The first meeting was chiefly concerned with the legal problem. After the proposals of Menasseh ben Israel had been read, Cromwell himself laid down the programme of the proceedings in two questions.

[1] The list of members is given in State Papers, Dom. Inter., i. 76, p. 378.
[2] *Publick Intelligencer*, loc. cit.

(1) Whether it be lawful to receive the Jews?

(2) If it be lawful, then upon what terms is it meet to receive them?[1]

The first question was purely technical, and only the lawyers were competent to pronounce an opinion on it. Accordingly, the two Judges present, Glynne and Steele, were called upon to speak. After an elaborate review of the status of the Jews in the pre-expulsion period, and the circumstances under which they were banished in 1290, both expressed the opinion that "there was no law which forbad the Jews' return into England."[2] The grounds of this decision are nowhere stated. It was probably based on the fact that the banishment in 1290 was an exercise of the royal prerogative in regard to the personal "chattels" of the King and not an Act of Parliament, and that the force of the decree expired with the death of Edward I. At any rate, Cromwell had gained his first point,[3] and he joyfully adjourned the Conference to the following Friday, adjuring the divines meanwhile to ponder well the second question.[4]

What happened at the two following meetings, which were held on the 7th and 12th December,[5] we do not know in detail. The records of the time only afford us scanty glimpses of the opinions expressed, without any indication of the days on which they were respectively uttered. It is clear, however, that the feeling of the clergy turned out to be on the whole unfavourable to Menasseh's petition. The calumnies of the pamphleteers had done their work. The idea of public religious services at which Christ might be blasphemed stayed the hands of the most tolerant. Others

[1] [Henry Jessey.] "A Narrative of the late Proceedings at Whitehall Concerning the Jews, &c.," Harl. Misc., vii. p. 623. See also Burton (*pseud. i.e.* Nathaniel Crouch), *Judæorum Memorabilia.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] That the Judges' decision was given at the first meeting of the Conference is clear from a statement made by Nye to Prynne on the morning of the second meeting ("Short Demurrer," p. 4).

[4] *Publick Intelligencer*, loc. cit. [5] *Ibid.*

feared that unrestricted liberty of Jewish worship would create in the Synagogue a nucleus round which the Judaical sectaries would rally. Dr. Newcomen drew a harrowing picture of English converts to Judaism joining the immigrants in offering children to Moloch.[1] The moderate majority, impressed, probably, by a weighty and elaborate opinion drawn up by Dr. Barlow, librarian of the Bodleian, and presented to the Conference by Dr. Goodwin,[2] were strongly in favour of an admission under severe restrictions. Even the level-headed Nye, who was ready to tolerate all religious follies so long as they were peaceable, asked for "due cautions warranted by Holy Scripture."[3] It was in vain that Lawrence and Lambert, supported by the learned commentator Caryll, combated these opinions.[4]

On the eve of the third meeting Cromwell sought to strengthen the Judeophils by adding to the Conference Hugh Peters, the oldest of the advocates of unrestricted Readmission, together with his favourite chaplain, Peter Sterry, and Mr. Bulkeley, the Provost of Eton.[5] This, however, did not improve matters, for Peters had meanwhile heard something of the Marranos in London and their papistical dissimulation of their religion, and he vigorously denounced the Jews as "a self-seeking generation" who "made but little conscience of their own principles."[6] This discourse seems to have produced a con-

[1] *Judæorum Memorabilia*, p. 170.

[2] Barlow, "Several Miscellaneous and Weighty Cases of Conscience" (1692), Fifth Treatise. See also p. 1 of the Bookseller's Preface. Rev. S. Levy believes (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, iii. p. 152) that this opinion was drawn up at the request of Robert Boyle. This is improbable, as it is clear from the resemblances between Barlow's recommendations and the report ultimately drawn up by the Committee of the Council (*infra*, p. lxxxiv), that the opinion was submitted to the Whitehall Conference, and Boyle was not a member of that body. Goodwin, who was President of Magdalen College, is much more likely to have asked Barlow for the opinion, especially as we know that he was in favour of "due cautions" (*Jud. Mem.*, p. 174).

[3] *Jud. Mem.*, p. 174.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 175.

[5] State Papers, Dom. Inter., i. 76 (1655), p. 412.

[6] This is shown by two letters in the Domestic State Papers (see *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 46).

siderable impression on the Conference, for Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell on the 17th, expressed the shrewd opinion that "nothing will be done."[1]

So far, however, the essential point for which Cromwell had been striving had not been jeopardised. He was desirous of securing the admission of the Jews on liberal terms, but at a pinch he would no doubt have agreed to religious and civil restrictions, provided the commercial activity of the immigrants was not unduly fettered. Hence the terms favoured by the majority of the clergy did not trouble him very seriously.

At the final meeting, which was held on the 18th December,[2] the commercial question was broached. On this occasion the doors of the Council Chamber were, for some sinister reason, thrown open to the public,[3] and an excited crowd, armed with copies of Prynne's newly published tract on the Jewish question,[4] collected to hear the debate. The proceedings were tempestuous from the beginning, and gradually they took the form of a vehement demonstration against the Jews. Merchant after merchant rose and violently protested against any concessions, declaring that the Hebrews were a mean and vicious people, and that their admission would enrich foreigners and impoverish the natives.[5] Even strangers took part in these tirades, and a Mr. Lloyd, who was not a member of the Conference, distinguished himself by a "fierce" harangue.[6] The climax was reached when Sir Christopher Pack, the most eminent citizen of his day, and a devoted adherent of the Protector, ranged himself with the opponents of Menasseh, in an

[1] Thurloe State Papers, vol. iv. p. 321.
[2] *Publick Intelligencer*, loc. cit.
[3] Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 77.
[4] "A Short Demurrer," Part I. The publication of the pamphlet was hurried to be in time for the Conference. It was written in seven days, and the preface is dated December 14, four days before the last meeting (*cf.* Preface to "Second Demurrer," 1656).
[5] *Jud. Memor.*, p. 175; Burton, "Diary," p. 309.
[6] Burton, *loc. cit.*

address which is said to have been the most impressive delivered during the whole course of the Conference.[1]

The advocates of out-and-out exclusion were, however, as little likely to carry the day as the champions of unrestricted admission, for the majority of the members of the Conference were divines who were anxious that the Jews should be converted, and for that reason desired that they should be somehow or other brought into the country. Moreover, since the decision of the Judges, the question was no longer whether exclusion should be persisted in, but only on what terms admission should be sanctioned. This was probably pointed out to the merchants, and an attempt to arrive at a compromise was made. After some private confabulations, Henry Jessey rose to announce the terms that had been agreed upon. The appearance of Jessey, the profound Rabbinical student, the friend of Menasseh, and one of the veterans of the Readmission cause, seemed to betoken a Jewish victory. What must have been the astonishment of his friends when he stated, with naïve satisfaction, that the basis of the compromise was that the Jews should only be admitted to decayed ports and towns, and that they should pay double customs duties on their imports and exports![2]

Cromwell now saw his whole scheme crumbling to pieces. That, if put to the vote, Jessey's compromise would be adopted by an overwhelming majority was patent to everybody. In that case not only would the commercial design which Cromwell had at heart be defeated, but the Marranos in London, who had served him so well, would be practically banished. At all hazards a vote had to be prevented.[3] Cromwell acted with characteristic promptness and audacity. Rising from the chair of state, he addressed

[1] Burton, *loc. cit.*

[2] "Life of Henry Jessey," pp. 67–68.

[3] That Cromwell's interposition took place under these circumstances is an inference of the present writer's. The statements in Jessey's "Life" clearly point to this conclusion.

the Assembly. Ingeniously ignoring the proposed compromise, he began his speech with a review of the differences of opinion revealed by the various speakers. They were, he scornfully declared, a babel of discordances. He had hoped that the Preachers would have given him some clear and practical advice, but they had only multiplied his doubts. Protesting that he had no engagements to the Jews but what the Scriptures held forth, he insisted that "since there was a promise of their conversion, means must be used to that end, which was the preaching of the Gospel, and that could not be done unless they were permitted to dwell where the Gospel was preached." Then, turning to the merchants, he harped sarcastically on the accusations they had brought against the Jews. "You say they are the meanest and most despised of all people. So be it. But in that case what becomes of your fears? Can you really be afraid that this contemptible and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?" It was clear, he added sharply, that no help was to be expected from the Conference, and that he and the Council would have to take their own course. He hoped he should do nothing foolishly or rashly, and he asked now only that the Conference would give him the benefit of their prayers, so that he might be directed to act for the glory of God and the good of the nation.[1] So saying, he vacated the chair in token that the proceedings were at an end.

The speech was a fighting speech, delivered with great animation, and is said to have been one of the best Cromwell ever made.[2] It achieved its object, for the Conference broke up without a word of protest, and the crowds dis-

[1] These fragments of Cromwell's speech are gathered from Jessey's "Narrative," Crouch's *Judæorum Memorabilia*, pp. 175–176, and Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 77.

[2] Testimony by Rycaut, who was present in the crowd (Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 77).

persed in cowed silence. Cromwell left the Council Chamber in a towering passion, and it was some days before he recovered his equanimity.[1]

The battle was, however, not yet over. Cromwell had dismissed the Conference, but the Committee of the Council of State had yet to report. It could not well, in sober writing, take the view of the Protector's strategic speech, nor could it ignore the instruction of the Council to which it owed its existence. Accordingly it set itself to the drafting of a report which should express the obvious views of the Conference without conflicting too violently with Cromwell's equally obvious design. The report accepted the view of the Judges that there was no law against the Readmission, and then proceeded to set forth under six heads the views urged by the Conference, including the view of the merchants, that "great prejudice is likely to arise to the natives of this Commonwealth in matters of trade." Finally, it laid down seven conditions, apparently borrowed from Barlow's opinion,[2] by which the Readmission should be governed. The Jews should have no autonomous jurisdiction; they should be forbidden from blaspheming Christ; they should not profane the Christian Sabbath; they should have no Christian servants; they should be ineligible for public office; they should print nothing against Christianity, and they should not discourage those who might attempt to convert them, while the making of converts by them should be prohibited. No restriction on their trading was suggested.[3]

What became of this document is not clear. A clean copy of it, undated and unendorsed, is preserved in the

[1] Writing to Henry Cromwell about the Conference a week later, Thurloe says, "I doe assure you that his highness is put to exercise every day with the peevishness and wroth of some persons heere" (State Papers, vol. iv. p. 343).

[2] *Cf.* Conditions, ii., iii., iv., v., ix., xi., and xvii., in Barlow, "The Care of the Jews," pp. 67, 68, 70, 71, and 73.

[3] *Infra*, p. lxxxiv–lxxxv.

State Papers, but there is no reference to it in the Order Book of the Council of State.[1] And yet it is certain that the Committee presented it to the Council, for the Conference was only a means of enlightening the Committee, and the Council still looked to it for advice. It is probable that it was never formally accepted by the Council. When it was in due course brought up, Cromwell most likely objected to its presentation. After his experience of the Conference, it was clear to him that whatever was done would have to be done more or less unofficially. The acceptance of the report would have involved legislation, in which case the proceedings of the Conference would have been repeated in a form far more difficult to control, and perhaps impossible to defeat. Gratified by the omission of trade restrictions from the report, and feeling the necessity of retaining the support of the Council in the further steps he might take, the Protector probably assured them that he was in agreement with them on most points, and that he would do nothing unwarranted by the views they had expressed. At the same time he doubtless pointed out that many other important questions claimed the attention of Parliament, and that it would be well if men's minds were not further disturbed by the Jewish question. Accordingly he advised that the report should be ignored and the matter allowed to drop.[2]

Here the question rested at the end of 1655. The result was not encouraging, but at any rate one important point had been gained. The prevailing idea that the incoming of Jews and their sojourn in the land were illegal

[1] In the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. (1655–1656), p. 15, it is hypothetically dated November 13, the day on which Menasseh's proposals were referred to the Committee. This date is absolutely impossible, as the Committee could not have ascertained the views it reported to the Council in the course of a single afternoon. If it was not drawn up on the 15th, it could not have been drawn up until the Conference was over, as the Conference was specifically summoned to advise the Committee.

[2] I have to thank Dr. Gardiner for this ingenious conjecture. It entirely accords with all the known facts.

had been completely and finally shattered. This was the thin end of the wedge, and it had been so securely driven in, that John Evelyn entered in his Diary under date of December 14th: "Now were the Jews admitted."[1]

V. Cromwell's Action

Had the Diarist waited until the close of the Whitehall Conferences he would probably have modified his opinion. Although the technical question of the right of incoming had been decided, the cause of the Readmission had not been materially advanced. The universal demand for restrictions rendered it impossible for the Jews to avail themselves of their legal right without an assurance of protection from the Government. As late as the following April no complete settlement on this point had been reached, for in the passage from the *Vindiciæ* already quoted, Menasseh wrote on the 10th of that month, "As yet we have had no finall determination from his most Serene Highnesse."[2]

What happened after the Conferences is somewhat obscure, owing to the reticence of the public records on the Jewish question. It is certain, however, that before Cromwell's death a favourable decision was arrived at, and that an organised Jewish community came into the light of day in London, protected by definite rights of residence, worship, and trade. This is proved by the petitions for the re-expulsion of the Jews presented to Charles II. on his arrival in London in 1660, and especially by a statement in a petition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, that "in that grand Complicacon of mischeifs brought on yo^r^ Ma^ties^ good subjects by y^e^ corrupt interest of the late usurper *y^e^ admission of Jews to a free cohabition and trade in these dominions* was found to be a most heavy pressure on yo^r^ Peticon^rs.^"[3]

[1] Edit. Bohn, vol. i. p. 327. [2] *Supra*, p. xvii.

[3] Guildhall Archives. Remembrancia, vol. ix. No. 44, pp. 1–18. I printed the text of this petition in full in the *Jewish Chronicle*, November 15, 1899.

How had this free settlement been brought about? It is not altogether impossible to reconstruct the story, although the materials are scanty and vague.

Cromwell's parting speech to the Whitehall Assembly, and the continued residence of Menasseh in London, must have excited apprehension among the extreme Judeophobes. The decision of the Judges and the Protector's threat that he and the Council would take their own course rendered a formal proclamation of Readmission by no means improbable. On the other hand, the great bulk of the nation had shown itself unfavourable to the scheme, and there was just a chance that this might stay Cromwell's hand. This popular ill-feeling the anti-Semitic pamphleteers now set themselves to inflame. It was probably hoped by this means, if not to intimidate the Protector, at any rate to strengthen the Council in their resistance to his original programme.

The new year had scarcely dawned when the indefatigable pen of Prynne was again at work on an enlarged edition of his "Demurrer." In this work he especially devoted himself to the legal question, amplifying by some twenty pages his argument that the expulsion by Edward I. remained valid, and could only be reversed by an Act of Parliament. In February he published Part II. of the "Demurrer," containing a further instalment of documents relating to the history of the Jews in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The object of this work, which is a monument of research, and which until a generation ago was the chief printed source of our knowledge of the mediæval history of the English Jews, was to show that the Jews had never lived in England except under severe disabilities, and that they were a people of phenomenal viciousness, clippers of coin, crucifiers of children, and the blaspheming devotees of a ghastly blood cultus. Less learned, but not less virulent, was Alexander Ross, whose calumnious "View of the Jewish Religion" was published

about the same time. Several anonymous pamphleteers followed suit. The campaign does not seem to have excited much agitation, but it probably had the effect of deciding Cromwell not to attempt a public solution of the question in the sense of his own private wishes and of Menasseh's petition.

All that was urgent he had, indeed, already done. Shortly after the termination of the Whitehall Conferences he had verbally assured the London Marranos of his personal protection, and had given them permission to celebrate divine worship after the Jewish fashion, on condition that the services were held in private houses.[1] These favours were conveyed through John Sadler, no doubt in order to avoid any further apprehensions of a reopening of the Jewish question that might be aroused by granting an audience to Menasseh. The restriction in regard to the privacy of the services shows that Cromwell had definitely resolved to adhere to his compromise with the Council and to respect the spirit of their report. Legally the Jews were entitled to celebrate divine worship in public, for, by the repeal of the Recusancy Acts by the Long Parliament in 1650, the practice of every kind of religious duty, "either of prayer, preaching, reading or expounding the Scriptures," had been legalised, the celebration of mass being alone excepted.[2] It would, however, have been dangerous for the Jews to claim this right, and Cromwell no doubt pointed out to them that, in that case, it would be necessary to apply to Parliament for legislation, which could only have taken the form of enacting the oppressive recommendations of the Whitehall Conferences. Under these circumstances the Marranos could not but acquiesce. That their desire for synagogue services was entirely due to their Jewish piety, or was animated by a craving for martyrdom, is,

[1] These grants are mentioned in a Jewish petition subsequently presented to Cromwell (*infra*, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi).

[2] Gardiner, "Hist. of the Commonwealth," vol. i. pp. 396-97.

moreover, very unlikely. The outbreak of war with Spain had rendered it impossible for them to continue, in their guise of *Nuevos Cristianos*, to attend the services in the Spanish Ambassador's chapel, and as they were bound by the Act of 1650 to resort to some place "where the service or worship of God is exercised," they were confronted by the necessity of either posing as pseudo-Protestants or frankly practising Judaism. The former course was out of the question, especially after Hugh Peters's condemnation of their hypocrisy at Whitehall. Hence their request to be permitted to worship as Jews. By Cromwell's acquiescence in this request and his promise of protection a secret beginning in the way of Readmission had been informally accomplished.

This arrangement was, however, not destined to endure. It was an evasion of the will of the Whitehall Conferences —an attempt, as Graetz has well said, to readmit the Jews "nicht durch das grosse Portal sondern durch eine Hinterthür."[1] It was condemned to failure, too, because its secret could not be kept. Even before the end of 1655 Cromwell's intentions were known. In a scrap of a Royalist letter of intelligence, dated December 31, and preserved in the State Papers, the writer says, "The Jews, we hear, will be admitted by way of connivancy, though the generality oppose."[2] The secret arrangement with regard to divine worship was also soon bruited abroad. In a despatch dated January 28, 1656, Salvetti, the diplomatic agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, informed his master that "the affair of the Jews continues in the state I have already described; meanwhile they may meet privately in their houses, but they have not yet established a synagogue."[3] In a later despatch (February 4) he confirms

[1] Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. x. p. 122.
[2] Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1655–56, p. 82.
[3] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 27962. In a despatch dated January 14, Salvetti refers to the Jewish question, but makes no mention of the arrangement respecting divine worship. On the same date, too, the well-informed Dutch

this information and amplifies it. "It is thought," he writes, "that the Protector will not make any declaration in their favour, but tacitly he will connive at their holding private conventicles, which they already do, in their houses in order to avoid public scandal."[1]

From the Royalist spies and the diplomatists the news was quickly conveyed to the anti-Semites in the City. Although the dangers of a Jewish immigration *en masse* and the scandal of a public synagogue had been averted, the enemies of the Jews—especially their competitors in trade—were not inclined to acquiesce without a struggle in the tacit toleration of even a small community of Hebrew merchants. But what could be done? As Jews the position of the intruders was legal, and any attempt to persecute them in that capacity would probably be resented in a disagreeable fashion by the masterful Protector. Moreover, as the most serious evils of the Jewish problem had been provided against, and the public mind was preoccupied with the war with Spain, it might be difficult to enlist a large measure of support in an agitation against the strangers. An opportunity for showing their teeth soon presented itself to the City merchants, and they were not slow to avail themselves of it.

Early in March 1656 a proclamation was issued by the Privy Council declaring all Spanish monies, merchandise, and shipping to be lawful prize. The ink of this document was scarcely dry—indeed it had not been formally published—when, on the denunciation of an informer, the house of Don Antonio Rodrigues Robles, a wealthy Spanish merchant and Marrano of Duke's Place, City, was entered by bailiffs armed with a Privy Council warrant instructing them to "seize, secure, and keep under safe

ambassador, Nieupoort, informed the States-General that it was generally understood that the Lord Protector would take no further steps (Thurloe State Papers, vol. iv. p. 328). It would seem, then, that the transaction took place between the 14th and the 28th January.

[1] *Ibid.*

custody all the goods and papers therein found." On the same day the Commissioners of Customs, acting under a similar warrant, took possession of two ships in the Thames, the *Two Brothers* and the *Tobias*, which were believed to be Robles's property.[1] On the face of it, this action seemed to have no connection with the Jewish question. The fact that the information on which the warrants were based was presented to the Council by so staunch a friend of the Jews as Thurloe suffices to show that its Jewish bearing was at first quite unsuspected. It was apparently the private enterprise of a perfidious scrivener named Francis Knevett, who, after obtaining the confidence of several members of the Marrano community in his professional capacity, had discovered that under the new proclamation he might betray them with advantage to himself.[2] This seems also to have been the view of Robles, for in a petition he immediately addressed to the Protector he disputed the validity of the seizures on the purely legal ground that he was a Portuguese and not a Spaniard, and that his rights as a Merchant Stranger, which were consequently unaffected by the war with Spain, had been unjustly invaded.[3] On this point the Council, to whom the petition was referred, ordered an inquiry, and one of its members, Colonel Jones, was deputed to take evidence.

Meanwhile some suspicion that the case was aimed at the newly acquired privileges of the Marranos seems to have got abroad. Many of the Jews in London were of Spanish birth, and others, though natives of Portugal, were probably endenizened Spaniards, since in their guise of *Nuevos Cristianos* they had held high office under the King of Spain.[4] It was clear, then, that if the case against Robles was established other prosecutions would follow, and in that way the

[1] State Papers, Domestic. Interregnum, cxxv., No. 38, i. 76, p. 604; i. 112, p. 289; cxxvi., No. 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, cxxvi., No. 105, iv.
[3] *Ibid.*, cxxvi., No. 105.
[4] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 63.

small Jewish community would be broken up. The danger was all the greater since the protection and privileges so recently acquired by the Jews had only been granted verbally, and might easily be repudiated if public opinion proved too strong for the Protector. There was, however, no immediate reason why the leading Marranos, who had hitherto been in negotiation with Cromwell, should take up Robles's cudgels, for he belonged to a party in the Synagogue which had imbibed strong Royalist sympathies in Holland and France, and which, consequently, had kept itself aloof from Menasseh's Readmission campaign. They accordingly confined themselves to the presentation of a petition to the Protector, in which they asked that the "favours and protection" accorded to them, including the right of worship, might be confirmed in writing. At the same time they prayed for a license to acquire ground for a Jewish cemetery. This document was signed by Menasseh ben Israel, Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, and five other Marranos, but Robles was not among it signatories.[1]

Cromwell at once referred this petition to the Council, but the Lord President, apparently recognising that the Jewish question was coming up in a new form, held it back until the Robles case had been dealt with.[2] The fact that Robles was a Jew had, indeed, already been ascertained, and the belief that the prosecution was aimed at all his co-religionists was gaining ground owing to a new outburst of activity on the part of the anti-Semites. The anxiety of the Marranos at the shelving of their petition became accentuated by this agitation, and especially by the doubts which it seemed to be producing in the minds of some of their best friends. The wavering feeling in high places was made disagreeably manifest to them by a letter addressed to Menasseh ben Israel by John Sadler, in which that friend of the Jews

[1] State Papers, Dom. Interregnum, cxxv., 58. *Infra*, p. lxxxv.
[2] See endorsement of the petition. *Infra*, p. lxxxvi.

pointed out that the charges of ritual murder and *quasi* idolatry preferred by Prynne and Ross were being widely discussed, and that a public answer to them was urgently necessary.[1] Before Menasseh's reply was written Colonel Jones presented an interim report to the Council, from which it appeared *inter alia* that Knevett had filed a further information denouncing other Marranos as Spanish subjects.[2]

It was now no longer possible to ignore the existence of an anti-Jewish conspiracy. The first action of the Jews was to hurry forward the publication of Menasseh's reply to Prynne and Ross. This took the form of the famous *Vindiciæ Judæorum*—the third tract printed in the present volume. It was described merely as "A Letter in Answer to certain Questions propounded by a Noble and Learned Gentleman touching the reproaches cast on the Nation of the Jewes." The date of its appearance, however, fixes its relation to the Robles crisis, for it was published ten days after Colonel Jones's report, while the seriousness of that crisis is strikingly illustrated by the urgent and earnest tone of the pamphlet. Menasseh evidently felt that not only his own grandiose idea of a new asylum for Israel was at stake, but that even the small progress that had been achieved towards that end was threatened by a more rigid exclusion of the Hebrew nation. He threw his whole soul into this fresh vindication of his people and their claims. Nothing, indeed, that had come from his facile pen had been more dignified, more impressive, more convincing. The vanity, the superficiality, the pretentious mysticism of his former works had gone. He was no longer playing a part even to himself. He was merely

[1] *Infra*, p. 107. The hypothesis that John Sadler was the author of the letter which gave rise to the *Vindiciæ Judæorum* is based on the facts that he was at the time the go-between in the negotiations with Cromwell, that he was an intimate friend of Menasseh, and that he had already given some thought to the blood accusation and other charges against the Jews ("Rights of the Kingdom," p. 74).

[2] State Papers, Dom. Inter., i. 77, April 1, 1656; cxxvi., No. 105, xi.

the champion of his people in a moment of their sore trial, writing from a heart whose every throb was for their welfare and their honour. The simple eloquence of this essay, its naïve garrulousness, the glimpses it yields of a pious, gentle, self-denying character, made it one of the most effective vindications of the Jews ever written. The best tribute to its value is afforded by the fact that it has since been frequently reprinted in all parts of Europe when the calumnies it denounced have been revived.

The *Vindiciæ Judæorum* was a fitting prelude to the dénouement that followed. With this certificate in their hands the Marranos felt that they might risk claiming their legal rights as Jews, and thus at once repudiate their Spanish nationality and challenge a settlement of their status in the country. The decision was a bold one, but there was shrewd method in its apparent rashness. If the Marranos were technically Spanish subjects, they were in reality testimonies to the intolerance of Spain which made that country, in Cromwell's words, "the natural, the providential enemy of England,"[1] and which was one of the grounds of the war. Like the Protestant traders whose liberty of conscience had been trampled on in Spain they also had been persecuted, though in a worse form. They were fugitives from the Inquisition, and consequently had a peculiar claim on the indulgence and consistency of the English people, who at that moment were filled with righteous horror at the religious policy of the "Popish enemy."

In pursuance of this idea Robles now addressed a fresh petition to the Protector, which reached the Council of State on the 15th April,[2] five days after the publication of the *Vindiciæ*. In this document the purely legal question of nationality was dropped, and Robles confined himself to reciting how he and his kindred had been persecuted by the Inquisition in Portugal and Spain, how his father had died

[1] Carlyle, "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," vol. ii. p. 161.
[2] State Papers, Dom. Inter., cxxvi., No. 105, i.; i. 77, No. 11.

under torture, how his mother had been crippled for life, and other members of his family burnt or sent to the galleys because they were Jews. He related that he had sought refuge in England, "intending therein to shelter himselfe from those tiranicall Proceedings and injoy those Beneffitts and Kindnesse which this Comonwth ever aforded to aflicted strangers." He appealed to Cromwell's notorious sympathy for "afflicted ones," and especially "owr nation the Jews," and skilfully suggested that a continuance of his prosecution would be tantamount to the introduction of the Inquisition into England. A week later affidavits confirming the statements in this petition were signed by all the leading Marranos and handed to Colonel Jones.[1] Thus the Crypto-Jews threw off their disguise. In the investigations which followed, the existence of over twenty Jewish families in London was revealed, and it was given in evidence that many of them had resided for years in the country.

These tactics produced dismay in the ranks of the anti-Semites. Knevett made a last despairing effort to construct a fresh case against the Jews by trying to bribe Robles's servants to assist him in framing a new information. In this he failed.[2] The case was now quickly disposed of. On April 25th the Council of State, still anxious to avoid responsibility for a decision, sent all the papers to the Admiralty Commissioners, with a request for a prompt report. On May 11th the Commissioners summoned the witnesses before them, but extracted little else from them than that Robles was believed to be Portuguese, and that they were all victims of the Inquisition. On May 14th the Commissioners reported that they were unable to give a definite opinion on the question of nationality. Two days later the Council screwed up their courage to a decision,

[1] State Papers, Dom. Inter., cxxvi., No. 105, ii. and iii. Most of the documents in the Robles case have been printed as an appendix to my paper on "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth" (*Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 76-86).

[2] *Ibid.*, cxxvi., No. 105, vi.

and, without giving any reasons, ordered all the warrants to be discharged, and reinstated Robles in the possession of his goods, premises, and ships.[1]

The Jewish battle was won, and nothing now remained but to secure the fruits of victory in an inexpugnable form. What followed is, in detail, a matter of conjecture, but the broad lines of the settlement we know from the petition of the Corporation of the City of London, already quoted. Rights of "cohabitation and trade in these dominions" were formally accorded to the Jews in writing.[2] That this happened before the end of 1656 we may gather from a statement of Cromwell's intimate friend, Samuel Richardson, who, in his "Plain Dealing," published in that year, says of the Protector, "He hath owned the poor despised people of God, and advanced many of them to a better way and means of living."[3] The first steps were probably taken on the 26th June, when the long-deferred petition of the Marranos for a license to acquire a burial-ground and for a confirmation in writing of their rights of residence and worship came up for consideration.[4] The Council, still reluctant to engage their responsibility, made no entry of the discussion in their Order Book, and it was probably arranged that Cromwell should personally confirm the Jewish right of residence, subject to an understanding that the spirit of the recommendations presented to the Council after the Whitehall Conferences should be

[1] State Papers, Dom. Inter., i. 77, pp. 44, 78; cxxvii., 21, 40; i. 77, No. 19.

[2] There is a tradition in the synagogues that written privileges were granted, and this conforms with all the other evidence relating to the campaign. The disappearance of these documents is not surprising, as many of the older documents belonging to the Sephardi congregation in London passed into private hands. Moreover, after the Restoration the congregations would naturally wish to destroy all evidence of their negotiations with the Protector. It is probable that these documents are referred to in the State Papers, where mention is made of "a Jew living in London who has produced great testimonies under the hand of the late Lord Protector." (Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1659–60, p. 291.)

[3] "Tracts on Liberty of Conscience" (Hanserd Knollys Soc.), p. 240.

[4] See Endorsement of Petition, *infra*, p. lxxxvi.

observed. The right to acquire a cemetery was certainly granted. Cromwell probably further engaged himself to instruct the London city authorities to place no impediments in the way of the Jews trading on an equality with other citizens.[1] On their side, the Marranos must have agreed not to assist in an indiscriminate immigration of their co-religionists, not to obtrude their worship and ceremonies on the public, not to engage in religious controversy, and not to make converts.[2] The restriction with regard to worshipping in private houses was also probably revised, and the maintenance of a synagogue, subject to the other conditions, sanctioned.[3] In February 1657 Antonio de Carvajal and another leading Marrano, Simon de Caceres, signed the lease for a Jewish cemetery in Mile End.[4] Shortly afterwards another result of the settlement was made public. Solomon Dormido, a son of David Abarbanel Dormido and nephew of Menasseh ben Israel, was admitted to the Royal Exchange as a duly licensed broker of the City of London, the authorities waiving in his favour the Christological oath essential to the induction of all brokers.[5] As wholesale trading in the City was

[1] A similar course had been taken with regard to Protestant refugees in the city on November 13, 1655. (Guildhall Archives: Rep. lxiv. fol. 8b.)

[2] Some of these restrictions are clearly indicated by Menasseh's disappointment at the settlement. The prohibition of proselytising has always been remembered as one of the conditions of the Readmission, and it was religiously observed until the Rabbinate of the present ecclesiastical chief of the Anglo-Jewish community. In 1752, when certain Ashkenazi Jews were making proselytes in London, the Parnassim of the Portuguese synagogue wrote to the authorities of the German congregation, calling their attention to this condition, and the proselytisers were ordered to desist from "pursuing such unlawful practices." In 1760 a Jew was expelled from the synagogue and deprived of his burial rights for this offence. (Minute Books of the Duke's Place Synagogue, 1752, 1760.)

[3] Violet, "The Petition Against the Jews" (1661), p. 2: "Cromwell and his Council did give a toleration and dispensation to a great number of Jews to come and live here in London, and to this day they do keep *public worship* in the City of London, to the great dishonour of Christianity and public scandal of the true Protestant religion."

[4] Abstract of lease in *Jewish Chronicle*, November 26, 1880, communicated by Mr. Israel Davis.

[5] Guildhall Archives, Rep. lxxiii. fol. 213.

transacted exclusively through brokers, the admission of a Jew to that limited fraternity is a substantial proof of the acquisition of untrammelled trading rights by the new community.

The victory, it will be observed, secured to the local Marranos all they required, and in a measure realised the aims of Cromwell's own policy. To Menasseh ben Israel, however, it was no victory: it was a compromise of a purely selfish nature, which left his idea of a proclamation of a free asylum to the persecuted and scattered remnants of Israel as remote as ever. We may be certain that he did not hide his grief or his indignation. There is indeed abundant reason for believing that he quarrelled over it with the new Jewish community. His hopes of returning to his old position in Amsterdam were shattered, for the Dutch Jews, who had always shared the Stuart sympathies of their Christian compatriots, had formally abandoned him when they found they had nothing to gain from his mission, and had opened negotiations on their own behalf with the exiled king at Bruges.[1] He might, perhaps, have secured his future by becoming Rabbi of the London community had he been content to abide by the terms of the new settlement. This, however, he sturdily refused, and although he was deserted by all his friends, and his monetary resources were exhausted, he continued from his lodging in the Strand to urge on Cromwell the issue of the proclamation on which he had set his heart.

That he must have quarrelled with the London Marranos immediately after the settlement is shown by a letter he addressed to Cromwell towards the end of 1656, in which he asked for pecuniary help, and stated that he (the Protector) was "the alone succourer of my life in this land of strangers."[2] Cromwell responded with a gift of £25,

[1] Menasseh had assured Nieupoort that he did "not desire anything for the Jews in Holland" (Thurloe, iv. p. 333). The negotiations with Charles II. are recorded in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4106, fol. 253.

[2] *Infra*, p. lxxxvi.

and in the following March granted him a pension of £100 a year, dating from February, and payable quarterly.[1] Unfortunately this pension was never paid, and Menasseh became overwhelmed with cares.[2] Nevertheless, for six months longer he doggedly pursued his mission. In September 1657 his only surviving son, Samuel ben Israel, who had remained with him in England, died.[3] Then his spirit broke. Begging a few pounds from the Protector[4] he turned his steps homewards, carrying with him the corpse of his son.

A broken and beggared man he met his family at Middelburg, in Zeeland. He was now bent with premature age. The comely, good-tempered face, with its quizzing eyes and dandyish moustache, so familiar to us in Rembrandt's etching, had become hollow-cheeked and hollow-eyed. From the crow's-feet under the temples the whiskers had grown wildly until they formed a white patriarchal beard.[5] It was the wintering touch of the hand of death. Two months later Menasseh died of a broken heart at the house of his brother-in-law, Ephraim Abarbanel, in the fifty-third year of his age.[6]

VI. The Real "Vindiciæ"

One more question remains to be elucidated. How did the seemingly precarious settlement of the London Jews manage to survive the wreck of the Commonwealth?

Both Menasseh and Cromwell had builded more solidly than they knew. If the solution of the Jewish question arrived at towards the end of 1656 was not wholly satis-

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., viii. pp. 94–95. Fifth Rep. of Dep. Keeper of Public Records, App. ii. p. 253.
[2] *Infra*, p. lxxxviii.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxvii.
[4] *Ibid.* Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., viii. p. 95.
[5] Compare frontispiece with portrait at p. 105.
[6] Kayserling, "Menasseh ben Israel." (Misc. of Hebrew Literature, Series ii. pp. 68, 93.)

factory, it was precisely in that fact that its real strength lay. Experimental compromise is the law of English political progress. From the strife of wills represented in its extremer forms by Cromwell's lofty conception of religious liberty on the one hand, and by the intolerance of the sectaries on the other, had emerged a compromise which conformed to this law, and which consequently made the final solution of the question an integral part of English political evolution. The great merit of the settlement was that while it disturbed little, it gave the Jews a future in the country on the condition that they were fitted to possess it.

The fact that in its initial stage it disturbed so little rendered it easy for Charles II. to connive at it. Had Menasseh ben Israel's idea been realised in its entirety, the task of the restored Monarchy would have been more difficult. London would have been overrun by destitute Polish and Bohemian Jews driven westward by persecution, some fanaticised by their sufferings, others plying the parasitic trades into which commercial and industrial disabilities had driven the denizens of the Central European Jewries.[1] Many of them would have become identified with the wild Judaical sectaries who were the bitterest enemies of the Stuarts, while the others would have given new life to the tradition of Jewish usury, which for nearly four hundred years had been only an historical reminiscence in the country. Under these circumstances, we can well conceive that a re-expulsion of the Jews might have been one of the first tasks of the Restoration.

From this calamity England and the Jews were saved by the restricted character of the compromise of 1656. When the Commonwealth fell to pieces the Jewish community of London consisted only of some forty or fifty families of wealthy and enterprising merchants, scarcely

[1] For the condition of the Ashkenazi Jews at this epoch see Graetz's *Geschichte*, vol. x. pp. 52–82.

distinguishable in their bearing and mode of life from the best kinds of merchant-strangers hailing from Amsterdam, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Leghorn.

Nevertheless, efforts to procure their expulsion were not wanting. Royalists who recognised in them a relic of the hated Commonwealth, merchants whose restricted economic science resented their activity and success, and informers who imagined that their toleration was a violation of English law, set to work early to denounce them. These manœuvres began, indeed, as soon as the breath was out of Cromwell's body. Only a few weeks after the Protector's death a petition was presented to Richard Cromwell demanding the expulsion of the Jews and the confiscation of their property.[1] At the same time, Thomas Violet, the notorious informer and pamphleteer, made a collection of documents bearing on the illegality of the Jewish settlement, which he submitted to Mr. Justice Tyril, together with an application that the law should be set in motion against the intrusive community. The worthy Justice shrewdly suggested to Mr. Violet that in the then confused political situation he would do well to take no action. It would, he opined, be only prudent to await the establishment of a stable Government before moving in so serious a matter.

A few months later Charles II. re-entered London, and the Commonwealth was at an end. Naturally, everybody looked to the new régime to redress the particular grievance or grievances he harboured against "the late execrable Usurper," and the anti-Jewish party was particularly prompt in its representations under this head. Scarcely had Charles arrived in the Metropolis when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London presented to him a humble petition, bitterly complaining of the action of Cromwell in permitting the Jews to re-enter the land, and asking the

[1] [Richard Baker], "The Marchants Humble Petition and Remonstrance" (London, 1659), p. 17.

King "to cause the former laws made against the Jews to be put in execution, and to recommend to your two Houses of Parliament to enact such new ones for the expulsion of all professed Jews out of your Majesty's dominions, and to bar the door after them with such provisions and penalties, as in your Majesty's wisdom should be found most agreeable to the benefits of religion, the honour of your Majesty, and the good and welfare of your subjects."[1] The long pent-up wrath of the City found full expression in this petition, which must be read in its entirety to be appreciated. Thomas Violet followed with another petition, which was equally violent.[2] He declared that by law it was a felony for any Jew to be found in England. He did not, however, propose their expulsion, as he did not think that would be the best way of turning them to profitable account. His suggestion was in the first place that all their estates and properties should be confiscated, and then that they should be cast into prison and kept there until ransomed by their wealthy brethren abroad. A third petition, dated November 30, 1660, is preserved among the Domestic State Papers, but the names of the authors are not given. It runs very much on the lines of the City petition, but it admits the hypothesis of Jews residing in England under license, provided they were heavily taxed.[3]

No direct reply to any of these petitions is recorded. The views of the new Government are, however, no mystery. In the first place, there was no real Jewish question in the country, inasmuch as the Jews were very few, their character was above reproach, and the practice of their religion was conducted with so much tact and prudence that it was impossible in sober truth to be moved by Violet's impassioned complaint of "a great dishonour of Christianity and public scandal of the true Protestant religion."[4] Conse-

[1] Guildhall Archives: Remembrancia, vol. ix. No. 44, pp. 1–18.
[2] Violet, "A Petition against the Jews" (London, 1661).
[3] State Papers, Dom., Charles II., vol. xxi. p. 140.
[4] "Petition," p. 2.

quently the Government were free to consider the question exclusively from the point of view of secular politics. Once regarded in this light the conclusion could not be long in doubt. Cromwell's maritime and commercial policy had been adopted by the statesmen of the Restoration, and the success of this policy—represented by the re-enacted Navigation Act—depended to no inconsiderable extent on toleration of the Jews.

Moreover, Charles was under personal obligations to the Jews, and had assured them of his protection even before he came by his own. The Jews of Amsterdam, and some of the wealthier Jews in London, had assisted him during his exile, especially the great family of Mendez da Costa and Augustin Coronel, the agent for Portugal and a personal friend of Monk.[1] Shortly after the mission of Menasseh ben Israel to Cromwell these Jews had approached Charles II. at Bruges and had assured him that they had neither assisted nor approved the Rabbi's negotiations. Thereupon General Middleton had been instructed to treat with them for their support to the Royalist cause, and Charles had promised that "they shall find when God shall restore his Majesty that he would extend that protection to them which they could reasonably expect, and abate that rigour of the law which was against them in his several dominions."[2] That these negotiations were not without practical result is beyond question, for the Da Costas and Coronels, as well as several other Jewish families, were exceedingly active on Charles's behalf during the last few years of the Commonwealth.

It must not be imagined that this Royalist activity represented any double-dealing on the part of the Jews. Those who, like Carvajal and De Caceres, had fled direct from the Inquisition to England, were faithful to Cromwell to the end. The Royalist Jews were men who had acquired their Cavalier sympathies in France and Holland, and shared

[1] *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 71, 74–75.
[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 4106, f. 253.

them with their Christian fellow-citizens in those countries. None of them were parties to the negotiations with Cromwell in 1655-56, and none had ever affected Puritan sympathies. They probably had conscientious objections to Republicanism, for they were of the aristocratic Sephardi branch of Israel, with some of the bluest blood of Spain in their veins and immense wealth in their strong-boxes. Their dissent from their Puritan brethren was an early illustration of the falsity of the hypothesis of Jewish political solidarity, which is to this day a cherished delusion of the anti-Semites.

Charles II. did not confine himself to ignoring the anti-Semitic petitions. Having made up his mind that the Jews should be protected, he sought, like Cromwell, to throw the responsibility for his decision on the Constitutional Government. Before the end of 1660 an Order of the Lords in Council was sent to the House of Commons, recommending that measures should be taken for the protection of the Jews.[1] There is no record of any such measures having been adopted. It was probably felt that the most convenient course to pursue was to continue the policy of personal connivance inaugurated by Cromwell, as by that means men's minds would be least disturbed, and an experiment which was likely to produce good results would not be hampered. Moreover, should the experiment fail, it would be all the easier to deal with it if it had not received any legislative sanction.

Accordingly, the Jews passed from the personal protection of Cromwell to that of Charles. In 1664, when an attempt was made by the Earl of Berkshire and Mr. Ricaut to obtain their expulsion, the King in Council disavowed the scheme, and assured the Jews "that they may promise themselves the effects of the same favour as formerly they have had so long as they demean themselves peaceably and quietly with due obedience to his Majesty's laws and without scandal to his Government.[2] A similar course was

[1] Journal of the House of Commons, December 17, 1660.
[2] State Papers, Dom., Chas. II., Entry Book xviii. (1664), fol. 79.

taken by the Privy Council in 1673 and 1685, when attempts were made by informers to prosecute the Jews for the exercise of their religion.[1] Finally the King marked his personal gratitude to the Jews by knighting Coronel soon after the Restoration, and by a generous distribution of patents of denization among the members of the Synagogue.[2]

Thus the Cromwellian settlement was confirmed, and the path was definitely opened by which the Jews might win their way to the citizenship of the United Kingdom.

How that path was successfully trodden is a story which caunot be told in detail here. Its main feature, however, must be briefly referred to, for it supplies the justification for the campaign which Menasseh ben Israel and Oliver Cromwell waged so gallantly on behalf of the Hebrew people in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The Jews won their way to English citizenship not because they remained the *servi cameræ*, which had been their status under the Norman and Angevin kings, and which they had practically resumed under the Protectorate and the Restoration, but because they literally realised the portraiture of the Hebrew citizen which Menasseh ben Israel vainly placed before the British nation in 1655 in his tract, *De Fidelitate et utilitate Judaicæ Gentis.* In this way they gradually substituted for the personal protection of the Crown the sympathy and confidence of the nation.

Their old enemies in the City of London were their first converts. The wealth they brought into the country, and their fruitful commercial activity, especially in the colonial trade, soon revealed them as an indispensable element of the prosperity of the City.[3] As early as 1668 Sir Josiah Child, the millionaire governor of the East

[1] The text of these orders in Council has been printed by Webb, "The Question whether a Jew may hold Lands" (Lond., 1753), pp. 38-40.

[2] Some of these patents are printed by Webb in an appendix to "The Question," pp. 17-19. For Coronel's knighthood see Le Neve's "Pedigrees of Knights," Harl. Soc. Pub. (1869).

[3] Wolf, "Jewish Emancipation in the City" (*Jew. Chron.*, November 30, 1894).

India Company, pleaded for their naturalisation on the score of their commercial utility.[1] For the same reason the City found itself compelled at first to connive at their illegal representation on 'Change, and then to violate its own rules by permitting them to act as brokers without previously taking up the Freedom.[2] At this period they controlled more of the foreign and colonial trade than all the other alien merchants in London put together. The momentum of their commercial enterprise and stalwart patriotism proved irresistible. From the Exchange to the City Council Chamber, thence to the Aldermanic Court, and eventually to the Mayoralty itself, were inevitable stages of an emancipation to which their large interests in the City and their high character entitled them. Finally the City of London—not only as the converted champion of religious liberty but as the convinced apologist of the Jews—sent Baron Lionel de Rothschild to knock at the doors of the unconverted House of Commons as parliamentary representative of the first city in the world.

Jewish emancipation in England was, in short, the work of the English democracy—almost of the same democracy which in the thirteenth century had spued the Hebrews forth, when their kingly protectors had made their residence in the land conditional on their acting as the usurious instruments of the Royal Exchequer, and which in the seventeenth had resented their readmission under the influence of deeply rooted prejudices, inherited from that dark age. It was no mere homage to the abstract principle of Religious Liberty like the emancipations on the Continent which, in the name of the Rights of Man, suddenly called forth the oppressed Jews from their Ghettos and bade them take up a new life, from which they were sundered by centuries of mediæval seclusion. Religious Liberty in England broadened on more cautious lines. Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and

[1] Child, "A New Discourse of Trade" (Lond., 1668), p. 5.
[2] Wolf, "Jewish Emancipation," *loc. cit.*

Jews have each been taken into the bosom of the nation by separate legislative action, and as the result of practical demonstrations of the futility, nay, the disadvantage, of their exclusion. The gradual emancipation of the English Jews, first socially and then in the municipalities, enabled them to show that their civic qualities entitled them to the fullest rights of citizenship; and it was the realisation of this fact—not by statesmen or philosophers, but by their neighbours and fellow-citizens themselves—that eventually gave them the position they now enjoy.

The story of Jewish emancipation in England is the true *Vindiciæ Judæorum*—the avenging of Menasseh's broken heart and the vindication of his touching trust in his people. It is something more. It is one of many justifications of that fine conception of statecraft, deeply rooted in infinite sympathy with human freedom, which is the secret of Britain's greatness, and of which Oliver Cromwell must ever be regarded as the typical exponent in English history.

VII. Documents

The following is a selection of the documents referred to in the foregoing narrative. They have been selected chiefly on account of their personal bearing on Menasseh's efforts:—

1. Fragment of a letter from Menasseh ben Israel to an unknown correspondent in London (Harl. Miscel., vol. vii. p. 623). The original was probably in French or Latin:—

"Amsterdam, *September* 5407 [1647].

"*Senhor, no pueda enar!* that is, sir, I cannot express the joy that I have when I read your letters, full of desires to see your country prosperous, which is heavily afflicted with civil wars, without doubt by the just judgment of God. And it should not be in vain to attribute it to the punishment of your predecessor's faults, committed against ours; when ours being deprived of their liberty under deceit-

fulness, so many men were slain only because they kept close under the tenets of Moses, their legislator."

2. Abstract of a letter relating to the "Hope of Israel" from Menasseh ben Israel to John Dury (Thorowgood, "Jews in America," 1650, p. xvii). The original seems to have been in French:—

"AMSTERDAM, *November* 25, [1649].

"By the occasion of the questions you propose unto me concerning this adjoyned Narrative of Mr. Antonio Montezinos, I, to give you satisfaction, have written instead of a Letter a Treatise, which I shortly will publish & whereof you shall receive so many copies as you desire. In this Treatise I handle of the first inhabitants of America which I believe were of the ten Tribes; moreover that they are scattered also in other Countries, & that they keep their true Religion, as hoping to returne againe into the Holy Land in due time."

3. Portion of a letter on the same subject from Menasseh ben Israel to John Dury (Thorowgood, *ibid.*). Like the foregoing, the original was in French:—

"AMSTERDAM, *December* 23, 1649.

"[In my Treatise] I declare how that our Israelites were the first finders out of America; not regarding the opinions of other men, which I thought good to refute in few words onely; and I thinke that the ten Tribes live not onely there, but also in other lands scattered every where; these never did come backe to the second Temple, & they keep till this day still the Jewish Religion, seeing all the Prophecies which speake of their bringing backe unto their native soile must be fulfilled: So then at their appointed time, all the Tribes shall meet from all the parts of the world into two provinces, namely Assyria and Egypt, nor shall their kingdome be any more divided, but they shall have one Prince the Messiah the Sonne of David. I do also set forth the Inquisition of Spaine, and rehearse diuers of our Nation, & also of Christians, Martyrs, who in our times have suffered seuerall sorts of torments, & then having shewed with what great honours our Jews have been graced also by severall Princes who professe Christianity. I proue at large, that the day of the promised Messiah unto us doth draw neer, upon which occasion I explaine many Prophecies."

4. Letter from Menasseh ben Israel to Paul Felgenhauer (*Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, pp. 87 *et seq.*):—

"D. Paulo Felgenhauer,
Salutem & Benedictionem, à
Deo Israelis reprecatur,
Menasseh Ben Israel.

"Bonum istud, in novissimis & afflictissimis hisce temporibus populo Israeli à te, Vir spectatissime, allatum Nuncium, tanto fuit animo meo gratius, quo, post tot seculorum aerumnas & tam diu protractas spes nostras, flagrantius idipsum exoptare non desino; modò præ rei magnitudine verbis tuis fides constare possit. Siccine, Bonarum rerum Nuncie bone, in procinctune jam est, ut adveniat Deus noster, Miserator Nostrum, utque nobis Desiderium tot seculorum, Messiam caput nostrum, tam brevi sit missurus? Siccine tempus illud imminere ais, quo Deus; hactenus offensus & aversus à nobis, iterum Populum suum consolabitur, & redimet non solum â Captivitate hac plusquam Babylonicâ, à servitute plusquam Ægyptiacâ in qua jam elanguit præ morâ, sed & ab iniquitatibus suis, in quibus quasi consumptus est! Vtinam tam Verum esset, quam Bonum Nuncium tuum, tibique, tam Credere possem quàm vellem! Utcunque quæ ad gaudii nostri confirmationem ex scriptis Propheticis Signa adfers Adventus Messiæ (ut fatear quod res est) lubens amplector; & quo plus animo meo volvuntur ea, hoc magis spes mihi inde aliqua affulgere videtur.

"Ad Primum quod attinet, apud nostros Rabbinos id signum in confesso est: quum enim necesse sit Imperia hujus mundi omnia corruere, antequam Regnum & Potestas & Magnitudo Regni detur Populo sanctorum Altissimi, cui omnes Reges servire & obedire oportet, inde non obscure sequitur, immediatè ante adventum illum Messiæ & Instaurationem Regni ipsius, magnas Conturbationes, Tumultus, seditiones, intestina & crudelissima Bella, Regnorum & Populorum hinc inde devastationes præcedere debere; Quæres quod brevi sit effectum sortitura, ex præsenti Imperiorum Mundi facie vero haud dissimile videtur.

"De Elia, secundo Adventus Messiæ nostri signo, quod ais, non diffitemur, quin & gaudemus maxime, quod in eo nos Judæi cum selectissimis Christiani Nominis Viris, in unam eandemque sententiam concurrimus, fore illum ex nostrâ Gente oriundum. Verum enim vero Elias ille cum nondum comparuerit nobis, eo usque saltem suspendatur spes nostra necesse est: adeo ut, donec illum Deus nobis revelaverit, certi & indubitati quicquam de Messiæ Adventu statuere minus tuum videatur.

"De Tertio isto Adventus Messiæ signo quod ais, nempe de hac Regni Israelis per totum Terrarum orbem prædicatione, id mihi non solum verisimile videtur, sed & tale quid jam in lucem prorumpere & effectum sortiri haud obscurè videmus: quin & Prædicatorem istorum haud contemnendus numerus mihi ipsi per literas innotuit, qui ex diversis mundi partibus ad consolandum Sionem prodierunt; inter alios Viros Nobilitate & Doctrinâ insignes, qui ad manum jam sunt. En ex Silesia habemus *Abrahamum à Frankenberg*, ex Borussiâ *Joh. Mochingerum*, ex Galliâ Autorem Libelli Gallico idiomate editi, *Du rappel des Juifs*. Ex Angliâ quos non? Nuper auctoritate publicâ *Nathanael Homerius*, SS. Theol. Doctor, librum in folio edidit anglico idiomate, de hac ipsa materiâ; & *D. Henricus Jesse*, nobis librum Belgico idiomate de *Gloriâ Jehudæ & Israelis*; publicè dedicavit. Plures allegare possem, qui instar Nubeculæ istius 1 Reg. 18 (quam Elias ascendentem de mari vidit, & subito in tantam molem excrevit ut totum Cœli expansum contegeret) Indies numero & virtute accrescunt, donec tandem totum Terrarum ambitum prædicatione suâ sint completuri: Vt autē aliquod hajus rei specimen, ad testimonium tuum confirmandum tibi, mi Paule prebeam; selegi tibi aliquot Virorum istorum ad me literas, quæ jam præ manibus habebam, quas legere poteris, & mecum gaudere, de ijs qui dicunt nobis, *Ibimus in domum Domini, stabunt adhuc pedes nostri in atriis tuis Ierusalem*; qui ad cor Ierusalem loquuntur, prædicantes salutem & dicentes Sioni, *Deus tuus Regnabit.*

"Sed præter hæc mitto quoque ad Te, Vir Doctissime, autographum Panegyrici cujusdam quem meo Nomini inscripsit D. *Immanuel Bocarus Frances y Rosales* alias *Jacobus Rosales Hebræus*, Mathematicus & Medicinæ Doctor eximius, quem Imperator Nobilitatis Insignibus & Comitis Palatini dignitate donavit; idque eâ potissimum intentione mitto, ut videat Dominus exstare adhuc & discerni ad hunc usque diem surculos ex stirpe Davidicâ ortum ducentes. Denique ut desiderio tuo faciam satis, en quoque Catalogum librorum, quos vel in lucem edidi jam, vel edendos penes me in parato habeo, sive Latino sive Hispanico idiomate. Hisce te Deo Patrum nostrorum ejusque gratiæ & benignitati animitus commendo, Datum Amsterodami An. 1655, die 1 Febr."

5. Enclosures in the foregoing, being a letter from Nathaniel Holmes, with a postscript by Henry Jessey (*Bonum Nuncium Israeli*, pp. 103–106):—

"Nunc sequitur Clarissimi Viri, Nathanaelis Homesii SS. Theol.

Doctoris Anglici ad me Epistolium, datum 24 Decemb. An. 1649. cum Subscriptione Reverendi D. Henrici Jesse ei annexâ.

"*Decemb.* 24, 1649.

"Animus mihi fuit, citius adte scribendi, Vir egregie, otium non fuit, Nec hodie ita mihi vacat, ut menti meæ, tantisque tuis scriptis (quamvis expectatione paucioribus) satisfaciam. Nondum de loco decem Tribuum, ex tuis literis responsum accepi; quod in meis desideratum fuit; non astu, vel curiositate. Veritatem insequor, ne Impostores pro Ebræis nobis obstrudantur. Scripsit quidam nuperime, Innodos Novæ Angliæ decem Tribubus esse prognatos. Alii Tartyros esse contendunt. Alii alios. Discrucior animi, ne fallar, usque dum literas tuæ me fecerint certiorem. Delectari videris D. Nicolai Apologiâ. Spero (ne glorier) te plura (ne dicam majora) visurum, meo de Mille Annis prodeunte tractatu. Quod opus ita me tenet occupatum, ut meæ ad te ituræ morentur literæ. Martyres in tuis literis vox est; quæ, ni fallor, veteri Testamento haud innotuit. Verum sub Novo, viri celebres, Christum, ejusque Evangelium, ad mortem asserentes, primi illud nomen obtinuerunt. Facilè tamen concedo, quoslibet veritatis alicujus testes, Martyres Græce dictos fuisse. Sed (parcatur nostræ libertati Conscientiæ, quam lubentissimè tibi inter scribendum indulsero) nec pontificii jam post Concilium Tridentinum ullatenus habeantur propriè Christiani: nec Martyrium esse mihi videatur, pro hodiernâ Legis Mosaicæ observatione animam deponere. Quippe Lex illa quoad usum, ex plurimis veteris Testamenti suffragiis, ante hoc abolenda esset. Deut. 18, v. 18, 19. Psal. 50. v. 6–15, 23. Iesaiæ 66, v. 1–3. Vt olim multis jam annis transactis, Iudei ubi maxima indulgetur libertas non sacrificantes, vosmetipsos tamen vere Deum colere arbitramini, Libet tamen, non obstanti hâc dicendi libertate nos edoceri, dedocerique, quâ in re â veritate subsidimus, vel hallucinamur. Tractatum itaque quem nominas *De debito Christianorum erga Ebræos affectu*, mittas; ut quantum in me est, typis mandetur, & in publicum promoveamus. De tempore adventus Messiæ quod incertum pronuncias, idque incertum comprobares experientiâ; in promptu est responsio; Illud Danieli prius ignoranti, tandem revelatum est; idque ex libris illius, nobis. Et quamvis nonnulli (quos nominas) computando hallucinantes, in errorum gyris, & labyrintho sunt involuti; non tamen hâc ratione deponendæ sunt de eâ re (tanquam nullius usus) Prophetiæ. Quippe quod expectamus, Danielis more cap. 9. v. 2 & v. 21. ut jam Vesperi ætatem, quo propius accedunt

liberationum periodi, eo clarius elucescant revelationes ad easdem spectantes. Ægyptii Ethnicorum barbariores (te teste Egregie Vir) nascendum Mosen præsentiscebant, nescientibus tunc Israelitis natum Liberatorem. Quidni etiam Christiani Scripturas amplexi, adventum vestræ Messiæ secundum prævideren t? In cujus adventu, (pace eruditionis vestræ asserentis, quod stupens mirabar, *Vestram salutem in ejus Adventu non esse sitam*) fundatur nostra, præsertim vestra æterna salus. Si enim verum foret, eum nondum venisse, & posthæc illum venturum ambigitur, labitur omnis prophetiarum Compages, totumque veteris Testamenti Systema ruit. Et ita de Scripturarum veritate actum est; ut de salute tum nostrâ, tum vestrâ actum est. Quæ si quippiam asserere videantur, Christi Messiæ *passionem* (Psal. 22. Isa. 53) *resurrectionem* (Psal. 16) *ascensionem* (Psal. 68) *sessionem ad dextram Patris* (Psal. 110) *potestatem super omnia regnantem*, more Adami novissime creati (Psal. 2. Psal. 8) omnino asserunt. Quæ omnia acurate comparata, Messiæ Filii Davidis adventum, abitumque, reditumque, elenchicè satis demonstrant. Non novum urgeo Testamentum, quod æquis miraculorum portentis nobis commendatum fuit, ut vetus Israeli. Vobis tamen Hebræis libentissimè favemus, utinamque plus multò favere possemus; quamvis nec Meritum, nec pro merito (vox Bibliis ignota) quicquam expectamus. Merces ex gratiâ datur non merito. Malum possumus, qui perfecte peccamus, mereri; bonum in quo omnimodo deficimus. Malum itaque pro nostro, bonum pro Christi merito (si voce utar) nobis compensatur. Hominum (fateor) alter de altero mereri dicatur, ut egomet tibi (vir Candidissime) pro tuis literis me multum debere agnosco. Quin & universa vestræ Nationi, flexis genibus servire molior, ut sive Nos Vobis, Vosvè Nobis facti Proselytæ utrique juxta Isaiam, & Ezechielem, cæterosque Prophetas, in unam coeamus ecclesiam. Nec non (confido) dilectissimus noster Iesseus idem meditatur; cui literas communicavi tuas, ad me missas. Pudet multum me tamdiu siluisse, verum tibi rescribenti, duplâ quoad possim diligentiâ compensabitur.

"*A Tui Observantissimo*,

"NATHANAELE HOMESIO.

"Tuis hisce ex animo attestatur, assentitur, negociis à scribendo jam detentus, qui Sionis pulverem commiseratur, qui hæc propriâ manu subscripsi H. IESSE."

6. Original French text of Menasseh ben Israel's de- lxxxii

mands on behalf of the Jews presented to Oliver Cromwell (S. P., Dom. Inter., ci. 115).

"Ce sont icy les graces et les faveurs qu'au nom de ma nation hebreue moy, Menasseh ben Israel, requiers a vostre serenissime altesse que dieu fasse prosperer et donne heureux succez en toutes ses entreprises comme son humble serviteur lui souhaitte et desire.

"I. La premiere chose que je demande a vostre Altesse est que nostre nation hebreue sont reçeue et admise en cestee puissant republique sous la protection et garde de vostre altesse comme les cittoiens mesmes et pour plus grande securité au temps advenir je supplie votre altesse de faire jurer (si elle l'a pour aggréable) à tous ses chefs et generaux d'armes de nous deffendre en toutes occasions.

"II. Quil plaise a vostre altesse nous permettre synagogues publiques non seulement en Angleterre, mais aussi en touts austres lieux de conqueste qui sont sous la puissance de Vostre Altesse et d'observer en tout nostre religion comme nous devons.

"III. Que nous puissions avoir un lieu ou cimetiere hors la ville pour enterrer nos morts sans estre molestes d'aucun.

"IV. Qu'il nos soit permis de trafiquer librement en toute sorte de marchandise comme les autres.

"V. Que (afin que ceux qui vendront soyent pour l'utilité des citoyens et viven san porter prejudice à aucun ni donner scandale) vostre serenissime Altesse elise un personne de qualité pour informer et recevoir passeport de ceux qui entreront, les quels estant arrivez le faira scavoir et les obligera de jurer et garder fidélité a vostre Altesse en ce peix.

"VI. Et pour n'estre point à charge aux juges du peix touchaut les contestations et differents qui peuvent arriver entre ceux de nostre nation que vostre serenissime Altesse donne licence aux chef de la synagogue de prendre avec soy deux ausmoniers de sa nation pour accorder et juger tous les differents de procez conforme à la loy Mosayque avec liberté toutefois d'appeler de leur sentence aux juges civils deposant premierement la somme à laquelle la partye aurait esté condamnée.

"VII. Que si paradventure il y avait quelques loix contraires à nostre nation juifve que premierement et avant toutes choses elles soient revoquées affin que par ce moien la nous puissons demeurer avec plus grande securité sous la sauvegarde et protection de vostre serenissime Altesse.

"Lesquelles choses nous concedant vostre serenissime Altesse nous demeurerons toujours les très affectionnés et obligez à prier Dieu pour

la prospérité de vostre Altesse et de vostre illustre et très sage conseil. Qu'il luy plaise donner heureux succez à toutes lés enterprises de vostre Serenissime Altesse Amen."

7. Circular issued by Cromwell's Council convening the Whitehall Conference (S.P. Dom. Inter., i. 76, 1655, pp. 378–79).

"Sir,—His Highness the Lord Protector and the Council having determined of a certain number of persons (whereof yourself is one) to meet with a Committee of the Council on Tuesday the fourth of December next in ye afternoon neare the Council Chambers in Whitehall to the intent some proposalls made to his Highness in reference to the nation of the Jewes may be considered of you are therefore desired by his Highness & the Council to take notice thereof & so meet at the said time and place for the purpose aforesaid.

Signed in the name &
by order of the Council
He. Lawrence
Presidt

Whitehall,
16 Novem. 1655."

8. Report of the Sub-Committee of the Council of State after the Conferences at Whitehall (S. P., Dom. Inter., ci. 118).

"*That the Jewes deservinge it may be admitted into this nation to trade and trafficke and dwel amongst us as providence shall give occasion.*[1]

"That as to poynt of conscience we judge lawfull for the magistrate to admit in case such materiall and weighty considerations as hereafter follow be provided for, about which till we are satisfyed we cannot but in conscience suspend our resolution in this case.

"1. That the motives and grounds upon which Menasseh ben Israel in behalfe of the rest of his nation in his booke lately printed in this English tongue desireth their admission in this commonwealth are such as we conceave to be very sinfull for this or any Christian state to receave them upon.

[1] Dr. Gardiner has suggested to me, and I agree, that this paragraph is not a recommendation, but the thesis of the report. It is the text of the "reference" to the Sub-Committee by the Council, and the succeeding paragraphs constitute the report upon it. See *supra*, p. xlv.

"2. That the danger of seducinge the people of this nation by their admission in matters of religion is very great.

"3. That their havinge of synagogues or any publicke meetings for the exercise of their worship or religion is not only evill in itselfe, but likewise very scandalous to other Christian churches.

"4. That their customes and practices concerninge marriage and divorce are unlawfull and will be of very evill exemple amongst us.

"5. That principles of not makinge concience of oathes made and injuryes done to Christians in life, chastity, goods or good name have bin very notoriously charged upon them by valuable testimony.

"6. That great prejudice is like to arise to the natives of this commonwealth in matter of trade, which besides other dangers here mentioned we find very commonly suggested by the inhabitants of the city of London.

"7. We humbly represent.

"I. That they be not admitted to have any publicke Judicatoryes, whether civill or ecclesiasticall, which were to grant them terms beyond the condition of strangers.

"II. That they be not admitted eyther to speake or doe anythinge to the defamation or dishonour of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ or of the Christian religion.

"III. That they be not permitted to doe any worke or anythinge to the prophanation of the Lord's Day or Christian sabbath.

"IV. That they be not admitted to have Christians to dwell with them as their servants.

"V. That they bear no publicke office or trust in this commonwealth.

"VI. That they be not allowed to print anything which in the least opposeth the Christian religion in our language.

"VII. That so farre as may be not suffered to discourage any of their owne from uisnge or applyinge themselves to any which may tend to convince them of their error and turn them to Christianity. And that some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from Christianity to Judaisme."

9. Petition of the London Marranos to Oliver Cromwell (S. P., Dom. Inter., cxxv. 58):—

"To His Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of the Comonwelth of England, Scotland & Ireland & the Dominions thereof.

"The Humble Petition of The Hebrews at Present Residing in this citty of London whose names ar vnderwritten

" Humbly sheweth

" That Acknolledging The manyfold favours and Protection yo^r Highnesse hath bin pleased to graunt vs in order that wee may with security meete priuatley in owr particular houses to our Deuosions, And being desirous to be favoured more by yo^r Highnesse wee pray with all Humblenesse y^r by the best meanes which may be such Protection may be graunted vs in Writting as that wee may therew^th meete at owr said priuate deuosions in owr Particular houses without feere of Molestation either to owr persons famillys or estates, owr desires Being to Liue Peacebly under yo Highnes Gouernement, And being wee ar all mortall wee allsoe Humbly pray yo^r Highnesse to graunt vs License that those which may dey of owr nation may be buryed in such place out of the cittye as wee shall thineke conuenient with the Proprietors Leaue in whose Land this place shall be, and soe wee shall as well in owr Lifetyme, as at owr death be highly fauoured by yo^r Highnesse for whose Long Lyfe and Prosperity wee shall continually pray To the allmighty God.

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL.
DAVID ABRABANEL.
ABRAHAM ISRAEL CARUAJAL.
ABRAHAM COEN GONZALES.
JAHACOB DE CACERES.
ABRAHAM ISRAEL DE BRITO.
ISAK LOPES CHILLON.

Oliver P.
Wee doe referr this Peticon
to the Consideracon of y^r Councill.
March y^e 24th
16$\frac{5}{6}\frac{5}{6}$.

(Endorsement)
Hebrews
y^e 25 March 1656
dd by the Lord Presid^t
Gentlemen ye 26
June 1656."

10. Petition of Menasseh ben Israel to Oliver Cromwell, probably written at the end of 1656 (S. P., Dom. Inter., cliii. 122):—

" To his Highness the Lord Protector.

" May it please your Highnesse, what modestie forbidds necessitie (that ingens telum) compells; that having bene long time very

sickly (an expensive condition) I make my moan to your Highnesse, as the alone succourer of my life, in this land of strangers, to help in this present exigence. I shall not presume to prescribe to your Highnesse but havinge had great experience of your greatnesse in compassions as well as in majestie, I lay myselfe at your feet, that am your infinit obliged supplicant & servant

"MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL."

11. Further petition from Menasseh ben Israel to Oliver Cromwell. It is endorsed "17 Sep. 1657" (S. P., Dom. Inter., clvi. 89):—

"To his Highnesse, the Lord Protector, the humble petition of Menasseh Ben Israel.

"May it please your Highnesse, my only sonne, being now dead in my house, who before his departure, engaged me to accompany his corps to Holland, & I indebted here, I know not which way to turn mee but (under God) to your Highnesse for help in this condition, emploring your bowells of compassion (which I know are great & tender) to supply me with three hundred pounds, & I shall surrender my pension seal & never trouble or charge your Highnesse any more, I am very sensible considering your great past kindnesse (which with all thankfullnesse I acknowledge) how highly-bold this my petition is, but the necessitie of my present exigence & my experience of your admirable graciousnesse to mee have layd mee prostrat at your feet, crying, Help, most noble prince, for God's sake, your most humble supplicant MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL."

12. Petition on behalf of the widow of Menasseh ben Israel, addressed to Richard Cromwell by John Sadler (S. P., Dom. Inter., cc. 8):—

"To his Highness the Lord Protector the humble petition of John Sadler.

"Sheweth that although your petitioner being often pressed to present petitions in behalf of the Jewes did rather dissuade their comming hither, yet by some letters of your late royall father & others of note in this nation some of their synagogs were encouraged to send hither one of their cheife rabbines, Menasseh Ben Israel, for admittance & some freedome of trade in some of these ilands. And when he had stayed heere so long, that he was allmost ashamed to

returne to those that sent him or to exact their maintenance heere where they found so little success after so many hopes, it pleased his Highnes & the councell to setle on the said Menasseh a pension of 100£ a yeare which ere long he offered to resigne for 300£ for present satisfaction of debts & other pressures which lay so heavy on him that at length he submitted to resigne his former pension for a new grant of 200£ to be presently paid as the councell ordered.

"But notwithstanding his stay & expense in procuring several seales, he never gott one penny of the said 200£ but at length with his heart ever broken with griefe on losing heer his only sonne and his presious time with all his hopes in this iland he got away with so much breath as lasted, till he came to Midleburg & then he dyed. Leaving a poore desolate widow (with other relations) who solemnly professed she had not money enough to lay him in the sepulchres of his fathers, but for the charity of some that lent or gave them money. It pleased allso your Highess late father to receive one or 2 of the same poore widowes letters to your petitioner (whom they both trusted in that business) & with his owne hands to commit them to the especiall care of Mr. secretary Thurloe who hath also divers times minded the same, but your Highness exchequer is so charged that there is little hope of obteining it there.

"May it please your Highnesse in compassion to the said poore widow & relations of a man so eminent & famous in his owne & meny other nations & for the honour of Christian religion with many other reasons, to order the said 200£ out of the contingencies for the councell or some other treasure where it may be speedily had and without fees allso if it may be according to former orders.

"And your petitioner shall desire to pray."

Doctrina hic volúit, volúitq; Modestia pingi.
An poterit vúltús charta referre dúos?
Hos oculos, hæc ora vide. Conuenit útrinque:
Illa súos vúltús dixit, & illa súos. D.I.

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

Written
By *MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL*,
An Hebrew Divine, and
Philoſopher.

Newly extant, and Printed at *Amſterdam*, and Dedicated by the Author, to the High Court, the Parliament of *England*, and to the Councell of State,

The ſecond Edition corrected and amended.

Whereunto are added,
In this ſecond Edition, ſome Diſcourſes upon the point of the Converſion of the JEWES.

By MOSES WALL.

LONDON
Printed by *R. I.* for *Livewell Chapman* at the Crowne in *Popes*-Head Alley, 1652.

TO THE
Parliament, The Supream Court of ENGLAND,
And to the Right Honourable the Councell of State, Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael, *prayes God to give Health, and all Happineſſe:*

IT is not one cauſe alone (moſt renowned Fathers) which uſeth to move thoſe, who deſire by their Meditations to benefit Mankind, and to make them come forth in publique, to dedicate their Books to great Men; for ſome, and thoſe the moſt, are incited by Covetouſneſſe, that they may get money by ſo doing, or ſome peece of Plate of gold, or Silver; ſometimes alſo that they may obtaine their Votes, and ſuffrages to get ſome place for themſelves, or their friends. But ſome are moved thereto by meere and pure friendſhip, that ſo they may publickly teſtifie that love and affection, which they bear them, whoſe names they prefixe to their Books; let the one, and the other, pleaſe themſelves, according as they delight in the reaſon of the Dedication, whether it be good or bad; for my part, I beſt like them, who do it upon this ground, that they may not commend themſelves, or theirs, but what is for publick good.

As for me (moſt renowned Fathers) in my dedicating

this Diſcourſe to you, I can truly affirm, that I am induced to it upon no other ground then this, that I may gain your favour and good will to our Nation, now ſcattered almoſt all over the earth; neither think that I do this, as if I were ignorant how much you have hitherto favored our Nation; for it is made known to me, and to others of our Nation, by them who are ſo happy as near at hand, to obſerve your apprehenſions, that you do vouchſafe to help us, not onely by your prayers; yea, this hath compelled me to ſpeak to you publickly, and to give you thanks for that your charitable affection towards us, and not ſuch thanks which come only from the tongue, but as are conceived by a grateful mind.

Give me leave therefore (moſt renowned Fathers) to ſupplicate you, that you would ſtil favor our good, and farther love us. Truly, we men doe draw ſo much the nearer to Divine nature, when by how much we increaſe, by ſo much we cheriſh, and defend the ſmall, and weak ones; and with how much diligence doe you performe this, moſt renowned Fathers? who though you ſeem to be arrived to the higheſt top of felicity, yet you do not only not deſpiſe inferior men, but you ſo wiſh well to them, that you ſeem ſenſible of their calamity; you knowing how acceptable to God you are by ſo doing, who loves to do good to them who doe good. And truly it is from hence, that of late you have done ſo great things valiantly, and by an unuſuall attempt, and things much to be obſerved among the Nations. The whole world ſtands amazed at theſe things, and the eies of all are turned upon you, that they may ſee whither all theſe things do tend, which the great Governour of all things ſeems to bring upon the world by ſo great changes, ſo famouſly remarkable, of ſo many Nations; and ſo all thoſe things which God is pleaſed to have

have fore-told by the Prophets, do, and ſhall obtain their accompliſhment. All which things of neceſſity muſt bee fulfilled, that ſo *Iſrael* at laſt being brought back to his owne place; peace which is promiſed under the Meſſiah, may be reſtored to the world; and concord, which is the only Mother of al good things. Theſe things I handle more largely in this Treatiſe, which I dedicate to you (moſt renowned Fathers) you cannot be ignorant, that it is not only not unprofitable, but very uſeful for States and Stateſmen, to fore-ſee the iſſue (which yet is ever in Gods hand) of humaine Councells, that ſo they may obſerve, and underſtand from Divine truth, the events of things to come, which God hath determined by his Spirit in his holy Prophets. I know that this my labour will not be unacceptable to you, how mean ſoever it be, which I truſt you will chearfully receive, becauſe that you love our Nation, and as part of it, the Author of this Diſcourſe. But I intreat you be certain, that I pour out continual prayers to God for your happineſſe. Farewell, moſt renowned Fathers, and flouriſh moſt proſperouſly.

Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael.

Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael,
To the Courteous Reader.

There are as many minds as men, about the originall of the people of America *and of the firſt Inhabitants of the new World, and of the* Weſt Indyes; *for how many men ſoever they were or are, they came of thoſe two,* Adam, *and* Eve; *and conſequently of* Noah, *after the Flood, but that new World doth ſeem wholly ſeparated from the old, therefore it muſt be that ſome did paſſe thither out of one (at leaſt) of the three parts of the world ſc.* Europe, Aſia, *and* Africa; *but the doubt is, what people were thoſe, and out of what place they went. Truly, the truth of that muſt be gathered, partly out of the ancient Hyſtories, and partly from conjectures; as their Habit, their Language, their Manners, which yet doe vary according to mens diſpoſitions; ſo that it is hard to finde out the certainty. Almoſt all who have veiwed thoſe Countryes, with great diligence, have been of different judgements: Some would have the praiſe of finding out* America, *to be due to the* Carthaginians, *others to the* Phenicians, *or the* Canaanites; *others to the* Indians, *or people of* China; *others to them of* Norway, *others to the Inhabitants of the* Atlantick Iſlands, *others to the* Tartarians, *others to the ten Tribes. Indeed, every one grounds his opinion not upon probable arguments, but high conjectures, as will appeare farther by this Booke. But I having curiouſly examined what ever hath hitherto been writ upon this ſubject doe finde no opinion more probable, nor agreeable to reaſon, then that of our* Montezinus, *who ſaith, that the firſt inhabitants of* America, *were the ten Tribes of the* Iſraelites, *whom the* Tartarians *conquered, and drove away; who after that (as God would have it) hid themſelves behind the Mountaines* Cordilleræ. *I alſo ſhew, that as they were not driven out at once from their Country, ſo alſo they were ſcattered into divers Provinces, ſc. into* America, *into* Tartary, *into* China, *into* Media, *to the Sabbaticall River, and into* Æthiopia. *I prove that the ten Tribes never returned to the ſecond Temple, that they yet keepe the Law of* Moſes, *and our ſacred*

foure monethsin travelling Weſtward, they came to mountaines, to whoſe top they got with difficulty, and found a plaine which a pleaſant river doth compaſſe, by whoſe banke ſide dwelt a people who loved commerce, they were white, and bearded; and this five of the *Tabaires* (for three perished by the way, and only five returned) told to the *Braſilians* after nine moneths.

SECT. II.

IN our time, under King *Philip* the third, Captaine *Ferdinades de Queiros* being returned out of *India* (where he had ſpent moſt of his life) to *Rome*, he ſhewed a Table of Lands yet undiſcovered. From thence he went to *Madrid*, and five ſhips were given him by the Governour of *Panama* (to whom he was ſent) to perfect his deſigne. He began his journey, and was ſcarcely entred the South Sea, but he found Land, which he called, *The Iſle of Solomon*, and *Hieruſalem*, for reaſons which he told me. He in his courſe of ſayling alwayes kept cloſe to the ſhoare of thoſe Iſlands; he ſaw thoſe Iſlanders of a browne colour, and took many; others dwelt in greater Iſlands, and more fruitfull; theſe were white, and wore long garments of ſilk; and the Pilot being bid to bring his Ship neare the ſhoare, he ſplit his Ship upon a Rock, (and the Iſlanders running greedily to the ſight) which being ſunke, the Captaine went thence, looking for the firme Land, which he found to be forty degrees beyond; and he went three hundred miles neare the ſhoare; and when he perceived the Country to be inhabited by the ſmoke which he ſaw, and would put into a Port on the ſide of the River, there ran to him many white men, of yellow haire, tall like Giants, richly cloathed, and of long beards. But one of the Veſſels being wracked in the Havens mouth, he was forced to put out to Sea; whereupon the Iſlanders ſent two Chaloffi of a browne colour, (as the inhabitants were of the firſt Iſland) with ſheep, and other proviſions, and fruits, but deſiring, and threatning them, if they did not depart: The Captaine brought thoſe Chaloffi into *Spaine*, from whom the *Spaniards* could learne nothing but by ſignes; and inſtead of anſwers, (when they were asked) would ſhew their beards, as if ſuch thoſe were, who were their Lords, and had ſent them, and if they were asked about Religion, they would hold up their fingers to Heaven, implying, that they worſhipped but one God. A little while after, they dyed in *Spaine*. The Captaine returned to *Panama*, having left his two Ships which were wracked; and

and when the Governour ſued him, by meanes of the Senators, who are over the *Indian* affaires, he was diſmiſſed, and returned with his Ships into *Spaine*, where he abode two yeares before his matters were diſpatched. But the King created him Marqueſſe of the Countries found out by him, and commanded to give him a good Army, where-with to compaſſe his deſignes. But he scarce got to *Panama*, when he dyed, not without ſuſpition of being poyſoned by the Governour.

SECT. 12.

THat which I am about to tell, ſhall ſerve for a proofe of that which I ſaid of the *Weſt-Indians*. A Dutch Mariner told me, that not long ſince he was with his ſhip in *America*, ſeven degrees towards the North between *Maragnon*, and great *Para*, and he put into an Harbour in a pleaſant River, where he found ſome *Indians* who underſtood *Spaniſh*, of whom he bought Meats, and Dy-wood; after he had ſtayed there ſix moneths, he underſtood that that River extended eighteen leagues towards the *Carybes Indians*, as far as the ſhip could goe; and that the River is divided there into three branches, and they ſayling two months on the left hand, there met them white men, and bearded, well bred, well cloathed, and abounding with gold and ſilver; they dwelt in Cities encloſed with wals, and full of people; and that some *Indians* of *Oronoch* went thither, and brought home much gold, ſilver, and many precious ſtones, Which he having underſtood, ſent thither ſome Sea-men; but the *Indian* dyed by the way, who was their guide, and ſo they did not proceed, but ſtayed there two months, and trucked with the *Indians* who were ſixty leagues from Sea. That Province is called *Jisbia*, and is subject to *Zealand*; they have no commerce with the *Spaniards*, and the inhabitants travell ſecurely every way. I heard that ſtory by accident from that *Dutch* Maſter of the Ship; whence ſome of us gueſſing them to be *Iſraelites*, had purpoſed to ſend him againe to enquire more fully. But he dyed ſuddenly the laſt yeare, whence it ſeemes that God doth not permit that thoſe purpoſes ſhould take any effect till the end of dayes.

SECT. 13.

YEt I give more credit to our *Montezinus*, being a *Portingal*, and a *Jew* of our Order; borne in a City of *Portingal*, called

Villefleur, of honeſt and known Parents, a man about forty yeares old, honeſt, and not ambitious. He went to the *Indies*, where he was put into the Inquiſition, as the ſucceſſor of many who were borne in *Portingal*, and deſcended from them, whom the King of *Portingal*, *Don Manuel* forced to turne Chriſtians: (*O wicked, and unjust action*, ſaith *Oſorius*; and a little after, *This was done neither according to Law, nor Religion*,) and yet to this day they privately keep their Religion, which they had changed, being forced thereto. He being freed from the Inquiſition, very diligently ſought out theſe things, and oft ſpoke with thoſe men, and then was not quiet till he came hither, and had told us that good newes. He endured much in that journey, and was driven to great want, ſo that no houſe would give him food, or give him money for his worke. I my ſelfe was well acquainted with him for ſix months together that he lived here; and ſometimes I made him take an Oath in the preſence of honeſt men, that what he had told, was true. Then he went to *Farnambuc*, where two yeares after he dyed, taking the same Oath at his death. Which if it be ſo, why ſhould not I beleeve a man that was vertuous, and having all that which men call gaine. And who knowes but that ſhortly the truth of that Prognoſtick may appeare, which our *Montezinus* learned from the *Mohanes*; answerable to that which *Jacobus Verus* an Aſtrologer of *Prague* writ after the apparition of the Comet in *Ann.* 1618. and dedicated to his Highneſſe the Prince *Palatine*, where he thus diſcourſeth: The Comet going towards the South, doth intimate that the Cities and Provinces which God doth threaten, are those of the *Weſt-Indies*, which ſhall revolt from the King of *Spaine*, who will finde that loſſe greater then he imagined, not that the *Indians* rebell againſt him of themſelves, but that they are provoked to it being ſtirred up by others. Neither did the Comet only fore-tell that, but the eclipſe of the Sun, which was in that Country the yeare before. Thus far the Aſtrologer. Our ancient Rabbins ſay, though we doe not beleeve the Aſtrologers in all things, yet we doe not wholly reject them, who ſometimes tell truth.

SECT. 14.

THus farre of the *Weſt-Indies*, of which *Iſaiah* may be underſtood (becauſe it lyes in the midſt of the Sea, and alſo hath many Iſlands) in *Iſa.* 60. 9. *The iſles ſhall waite for me, and the ſhips of Tarſhiſh firſt, to bring their Sons from far, their ſilver and*

and their gold with them, Jer. 31. 10. *Heare the Word of the Lord O ye Nations, and declare it in the iſles afar off, and ſay, He that ſcattereth Iſrael will gather him,* Pſal. 97. 1. *The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoyce, and the multitude of iſles be glad.* Where part of the ten Tribes doe dwell unknown to this day.

SECT. 15.

YOu muſt know that all the ten Tribes were not carried away at the ſame time. *Pul* the King of *Aſſyria* (as I ſhew in the ſecond part of my Reconciler) conquered, and carried away the Tribes of *Reuben, Gad,* and halfe *Manaſſeh,* in the reigne of *Peka,* as you may ſee in 1 *Chron.* 5. 26. and *Joſephus in li.* 9. *c.* 11. *Tiglah-pileſer* eight yeares after took *Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Hazor-Gilead, Galilee,* all the land of *Naphtali,* and he carryed away all the Captives into *Aſſyria,* in 2 *King.* 15. 29. At laſt *Shalmaneſer* King of *Aſſyria,* nine yeares after, in the reign of *Hoſhea* the Son of *Elah,* beſieged *Samaria* three yeares; which being taken, he carried away. *Hoſhea,* with the reſt of the Tribes, in 2 *King.* 17. 6. Of thoſe three times the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſpeakes, *Iſa.* 9. 1. ſaying, the firſt captivity was gentle, if you compare it with the laſt, which was grievous, and unſufferable, when the Kingdome and Monarchy of *Iſrael* ceaſed.

SECT. 16.

THe ten Tribes being conquered at ſeverall times, we muſt thinke they were carried into ſeverall places. As we beleeve they went to the *Weſt-Indies* by the ſtrait of *Anian,* ſo we thinke that out of *Tartary* they went to *China,* by that famous wall in the confines of both. Our argument to prove it, is taken from the authority of two Jeſuites, who erected their Colledges in thoſe Countries. *Nicholaus Trigantius* a Dutch-man in his diſcourſe of the Chriſtian expedition under-taken by the Jeſuites to *Sina,* ſaith, We finde that in former time the *Jewes* came into theſe Kingdomes. And when that ſociety had for ſome yeares ſeated it ſelfe in the Court of the *Pequinenſes,* a certaine *Jew* came to *P. Matthæus Riccius;* he was borne in *Chamfamfu* the metropolis of the Province *Honan,* and was ſurnamed *Ogay;* and now being licenſed to the degree of a Doctor, he went to *Pequin.* But when he read in a certaine Booke writ by a Doctor of *China,* concerning the *European* affaires, That our

fathers are not *Sarazens*, and know no God but the Lord of Heaven and Earth; and would perſwade himſelfe that ours did profeſſe the Law of *Moſes*, he went into the Church with *P. Matthæas Riccius*. On an Altar there was the effigies of the Virgin *Mary*, and the childe Jeſus, whom St. *Iohn* his fore-runner worſhipped with bended knees; now that day was the Holy-day of *Iohn* the Baptiſt. The *Iew* thinking it was the effigies of *Rebecca*, and her two Sons, *Iacob* and *Eſau*, he bowed also to the Image, but with this Apology, that he worſhipped no Images, but that he could not but honour theſe who were the Parents of our Nation. And he aſking if the foure Evangeliſts on both ſides of the Altar, were not foure of the twelve ſons of *Iacob*; the Jeſuite anſwered, Yes, thinking he had aſked of the twelve Apoſtles. But afterward the *Iew* acknowledged to the Jeſuite that he was an *Iſraelite*; and he found the Kings Bible, and acknowledged the *Hebrew* Letters, though he could not read them. By this occaſion our people learnt, that ten or twelve families of *Iſraelites* were there, and had built a very neat Synagogue which coſt ten thouſand Crownes, in which they have kept the five Bookes of *Moſes* with great veneration for ſix hundred yeares. He alſo affirmed, that in *Hamcheu* the Metropolis of the Province *Chequiona*, there are farre more Families, with a Synagogue; and elſe-where that many Families live without a Synagogue, becauſe that by little and little they are extinguiſhed. He relating many things out of the Old Teſtament, he differed but little in pronouncing thoſe names. He ſaid, that ſome among them were not ignorant of the *Hebrew* Tongue, but that himſelfe had neglected it, having ſtudied the *China* Tongue from a Childe. For which cauſe he was counted almoſt unworthy of their ſociety, by the Ruler of the Synagogue. But he chiefly looked after this, that he might get to be Doctor. Three yeares after *P. Matthæus Riccius* ſent one of our brethren to that Metropolis, who found all thoſe things true. He compared the beginnings, and endings of the Bookes which the *Iewes* keep in their Synagogue, with our Pentateuch, and ſaw no difference, this only, that thoſe had no pricks. The other Jeſuite is *Alfonſus Cimedro*, who likewiſe ſaith, that there is a great number of *Iewes* in the Province of *Oroenſis*, on the Weſt part of *China*, who know nothing of the comming, and ſuffering of Jeſus. And he from thence gathers, that they are of the ten Tribes, (which opinion I alſo am of) becauſe thoſe *Chineſes* obſerve many *Iewiſh* Rites, which you may ſee in a manuſcript, which the

the noble *Jaochimus Wicofortius* hath. And why might not ſome of them faile from *China* to *New-Spaine*, through the ſtreight between *China*, and *Anian*, and *Quivira*, which doe border upon *New-Spaine*; and from thence they went to the Iſles of *Panama*, *Peru*, and thoſe thereabouts. Theſe in my judgement are thoſe *Chineſes* of whom *Iſaiah* ſpeakes, Chap. 49. verſ. 12. (treating about *Iſraels* returne to his Country.) *Behold, theſe ſhall come from afarre, and theſe from the North, and from the Weſt, and theſe from the Land of Sinim.* And ſo *Ptolomy* in *lib. 7. c. 3. tab.* 11. cals it The country of *Sinim*, or *Sina*; and this is the true ſenſe of the words; *Aben Ezra* therefore is miſtaken, who derives it of Sene, a buſh or wood, which he placeth in *Ægypt*.

SECT. 17.

I Could eaſily beleeve, that the ten Tribes as they increaſed in number, ſo they ſpread into more Provinces before-mentioned, and into *Tartary*. For *Abraham Ortelius* in his Geography of the World, and Map of *Tartary*, he notes the place of the *Danites* which he cals the Hord, which is the ſame which the Hebrew *Jerida*, ſignifying *A deſcent*. And lower, he mentions the Hord of *Naphtali*, poſſeſſed by *Peroza* in the yeare 476. *Schikhardus* in his Tarich or ſeries of the Kings of *Perſia*, amplifies the Hiſtory of this War, where *ex lib.* 4. *of Agathias*, he thus ſaith, *A little after, when they were eaſed of that Plague*, (*ſc.* 7. yeares drought) *in the time of the Emperour* Zeno, Firuz *made a double warre with* Naphtali, *in which at laſt he was deſtroyed. For firſt of all he was brought to the ſtreights of places unknowne; who then ſought for peace upon this condition* (*and obtained it*) *that he ſhould ſweare that he would never after provoke them*; *and that he ſhould doe reverence to this Conquerour in token of ſubjection: which afterward by the counſell of the Magicians he performed craftily, for he bowed towards the Eaſtern Sun, that his owne people might thinke that he bowed rather to the Sun* (*after his Country cuſtom*) *then to honour his Enemy. But he did not truly performe that firſt agreement, though confirmed by Letters Patents*; *who becauſe he could not digeſt the diſgrace of bowing to his Enemy, he prepared a new Army and went againſt them*; *but a ſecond time he being entrapped by the badneſſe of the Country, he loſt his life*; *and many with him, in a Gulf which the* Naphthalites *had prepared for him, having dreſſed it*

it over with reeds, and ſome earth throwne a top; they having left in the middle ſome high grounds, and trees where their Scouts were, that their ſtratagem might not be found, and that the Perſi-ans *might more confidently attempt the ditch. Thus a raſh King paid for his perfidy, he excelling more in daring, then in counſell, as* Agathias *ſaith. The patent by which peace had been agreed, was hung upon a ſpeare, and might be ſeene of him at diſtance, that he might remember his Oath, repent, and deſiſt from his enterpriſe; but he cared little for that. But when by his unexpected fall he ſaw he ſhould dye, it is ſaid that he pulled off from his right eare a pearle of huge bigneſſe, and whiteneſſe, and leaſt any after him ſhould finde it (more likely that his corps ſhould not be knowne) he threw it a great way off.* The ſame Author aſkes, who thoſe *Naphthalites* were, and by many arguments he proves that they are the relicks of the *Jewes*; ſaith he, *I doe wholly thinke that they are the relicks of the* Jewes *of the Tribe of* Naphtali, *whom* Triglath Pileſſer *the* Aſſyrian *carried into thoſe places, in* 2 King. 15. 29. *For* 1. *The name, in the beſt copies of* Agathias, *which* Lewenclavius *hath mended, is the ſame fully; in other Bookes it wants nothing but an* (*h*) *now it is ſcarce poſſible that in a word of many ſyllables that ſhould fall out by chance.* 2. *Their countenance diſcovers it, for as Procopious* I. C. *ſaith, they are not blacke, or foule in their countenance, as the* Auns *are among whom they live, but the only white men of that Country; that it may evidently appeare that they came from ſome other place thither.* 3. *Their manners agree, for the ſame Author ſaith, that they are not* Nomades, *as the* Huns *who are unconstant in their dwelling, and eate up one place after another; but they inhabite one certaine place. Beſides, they obſerve Law and equity, as the* Romans; *and have pollicy, being well governed by their Prince: both which is rare among their neighbour Nations. Alſo they doe not lay abroad their dead, as the* Barbarians *doe, but they decently cover them with earth. Laſtly, their jornalls doe teſtifie that many* Jewes *live there, eſpecially in the mountaines, who have ſearched to the mid-land countries of Eaſt-*Aſia, R. Benjamin, *f.* 23. *From thence (the coaſt of* Perſia) *is* 28. *dayes journey to the mountaines* Niſebor, *which are neare the river* Gozan. *The Iſraelites which come from thence into* Perſia, *ſay, that there in the Cities of* Niſebor, *are four Tribes (ſc.* Dan, Zebulon, Aſor, Naphtali,) *of the firſt captivity, which* Shalmaneſer *the*

the Aſſyrian *carried thither, as in* 2 King. 17. 6. *he brought them to* Habor, *and* Halah, *the river* Gozan *and the Mountaines of* Media. *The compaſſe of that Country is twenty dayes journey; and they poſſeſſe Cities, and Caſtles upon the Mountaines, by one ſide of which, runs the river* Gozan; *neither are they ſubject to the Nations, but have a Governour over them, by name* R. Joſeph Amarkela *a Levite, and there are among them ſome who ſtudy wiſdome. They ſow, and reap; yea they wage war to the Country of* Cuth. *In* the ſame place *Ortelius* adds, in the Country *Tabor*, or *Tibur* (which *Solinus* commends, in *c.* 49.) they dwell a people, who though they have loſt the holy writings, they obey one King, who came into *France*, in Ann. 1530. and ſpoke with *Francis* the first, was burnt at *Mantua* by the command of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, because that he did privately teach Judaiſm to Chriſtian Princes, and to the Emperour himſelfe. *Boterus* ſaith the ſame in his relations of the fartheſt part of *Tartary*. But both these were deceived; for *Rabbinus Joſephus Cohon*, a man worthy to be beleeved, relates this more truly in his Chronology, ſaying, that the *Jew* who came out of that Country, was the brother of the King of the *Iſraelites*, was called *David* the *Reubenite*; and having ſeene *India* in his paſſage, he came to *Portugal*, where he converted the Kings Secretary to Judaiſm, who fled from thence with him, taking the name of *Selomoh Molho*; he in ſhort time was ſo well verſed in the Law, yea in the *Cabala* it ſelfe, that he made all *Italy* admire him. The Secretary together with the *Reubenite*, endevoured to draw the Pope, *Charles* the fifth, and *Francis* the firſt to Judaiſm. *Selomoh Molho* was taken at *Mantua*, and burnt alive, in the yeare 1540. He yet was offered his life, if he would turne Chriſtian. The *Reubenite* was by *Charles* the fifth carried prisoner into *Spaine*, where he ſhortly after dyed. *Abraham Friſol Orchotolam* remembers the *Reubenite*, ſaying, Forty five years agone *David Reubenita*, a Prince of the *Iſraelites*, came from *Tabor*, a Province of *Tartary*, into *Europe*, who faid that two Tribes are there; and other Tribes a little farther, under their Kings, and Princes, and alſo an unſpeakable number of people. Perhaps the Province *Tabor* is the ſame that *Habor*; which is mentioned in 2 King. 17. 6. that the ten Tribes were brought by *Salmaneſer* to *Habor*, and *Halah*; now the Hebrew letters (*h*) and (*t*) are neere in faſhion. *Eldad Danita* of the Tribe of *Dan*, came out of thoſe Coun-

tries five hundred yeares agone (a letter from whom, which we call *Sephar Eldad Danita*, is kept to this day) and being examined by the Rabbins, was found an approved man. The learned Rabbi *David Kimhi*, who lived 450. yeares ſince, in *etymol. ſuo* in the word *Segiah*, he ſaith, *Rabbi Jonah* writes of the name of *Rabbi Juda Aben Karis*, that he heard *Eldad Danita* ſay, &c. And ſo what I ſaid is true, as appeares by the teſtimonies produced.

SECT. 18.

PArt of the ten Tribes alſo live in *Ethiopia*, in the *Habyſſin* Kingdome; as divers *Habyſſins* reported at *Rome*. *Boterus* in his relations ſpeakes the same thing, that two potent Nations doe live neare *Nilus*, and that one of them is that of the *Iſraelites*, who are governed by a mighty King. A Coſmographer who hath added notes to *Ptolomyes* tables, ſaith thus in his table of *New Africa*; that part of *New Africk* was unknowne of old, the head of *Nilus* not being knowne, which is in the Mountaines of the Moone, as the Ancients call them; where there dwels a great number of *Iſraelites*, paying tribute to *Preſter John*. *Rabbi Abraham Friſol* in the Book already quoted, ſaith, that in his time ſome who had been in thoſe Countries, reported the ſame to *Hercules* the Duke of *Ferraria*. And without queſtion from hence the *Habyſſins* learned Circumciſion, the obſervation of the Sabbath, and many more *Jewiſh* rites. Of these *Iſaiah* ſeemes to ſpeake, in *Iſa.* 18. 1, 2. *Woe to the Land which under the ſhadow of ſails doth ſaile beyond the rivers of* Ethiopia, *by whom* (the Prophet ſaith) *are sent Ambaſſadors in ſhips of Bulruſhes*, (ſuch as the *Æthiopians* uſe, commonly called *Almadiæ*.) *Bring back a people driven out of their Country, and torn, and more miſerable then any among us. Gifts ſhal be brought to the Lord of Sebaoth, in the place where the name of the Lord of Sebaoth is worſhipped, in the mount Sion.* The Prophet *Zephany* ſaith the ſame, in *Zeph.* 3. 9, 10. *Then will I give to the people that they speaking a pure language, may all call upon the name of God, whom they ſhall ſerve with reverence*; *from beyond the rivers of* Ethiopia *they ſhall bring to me for a gift, Hatray* the daughter of my diſperſed ones, (that is, the Nations of *Æthiopia*.) Which agrees with that of *Iſa. And your Brethren*, (which are the ten Tribes) *ſhall bring gifts to the Lord.*

SECT.

SECT. 19.

AND without doubt they alſo dwell in *Media;* from thence they paſſed *Euphrates,* whither they were firſt brought, as in 2 *King.* 17. 24 and in the book of *Tobit.* *Joſephus* alſo ſpeakes of them in the Preface of his Book of the War of the *Jewes,* that the *Jewes* did think that their brethren, who dwelt beyond *Euphrates,* and farther, would rebell againſt the Romans. *Agrippa* in his Oration to the people of *Jeruſalem,* that they would not rebell againſt the *Romans,* ſpeakes thus; *What aſſociates doe ye expect to joyne with you in your rebellion, and war? doth not all the knowne world pay tribute to the* Romans? *Perhaps ſome of ye hope to have help from them beyond* Euphrates. And in *lib.* 2. *Antiquit. c.* 5. ſpeaking of those who in the time of *Ezra* returned from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem,* he ſaith, *All Iſrael dwelt in* Media; *for two Tribes only dwelt in* Aſia, *and* Europe, *and lived ſubject to the* Romans; *as the other ten on the other ſide* Euphrates, *where they are ſo many, that they cannot be counted.* It is not therefore to be doubted, the people encreaſing after their firſt tranſportation, they ſought out new places, which we have formerly mentioned.

SECT. 20.

LAſtly, all thinke, that part of the ten Tribes dwell beyond the river *Sabbathian,* or ſabbaticall. *Rabbi Johanan* the Author of the *Jeruſalem Talmud,* who lived 160. yeares after the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, ſaith in his treatiſe of the *Sanhedrim, cap.* 17. That the ten Tribes were carryed into three places, *ſc.* to the Sabbaticall river, to *Daphne* the ſuburbs of *Antioch,* and thither where a cloud comes downe and covers them: And that they ſhall be redeemed from thoſe three places; for ſo he opens that place of *Iſa.* Cha. 49. 9. *That they may ſay to the Captives, Goe forth,* (*ſc.* to them who are at the Sabbaticall river) *to them that are in darkneſſe, ſhew your ſelves,* (*ſc.* to them who are compaſſed with the cloud) *and to all, they ſhall be refreſhed in the wayes,* (*ſc.* to them who live in *Daphne* of *Antioch* which is in *Syria.*) Whence you may obſerve, that the learned man *l' Empereur* tranſlated it ill, *at the ſides of Antioch,* whereas *Daphne* is the proper name of a pleaſant Grove near *Antioch.* *Sedar olam* makes mention of that cloud, and calls them *mountaines of obſcurity,* And in *Talmud tractat. Sanhedr. c.* 11.

R. Jonathan ben Uziel, who lived a hundred yeares before the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, in *Exod.* 34. 10. where the Lord ſaith, *I will doe wonders before all thy people, ſuch as was never done in the whole earth, or in any Nation,* &c. and he refers all thoſe things to the tranſportation of the people. *He ſhall draw them to the rivers of Babylon: and ſhall carry them to the Sabbaticall river, and ſhall teach them, that thoſe miracles were never performed to any Nation of the known world.*

Our ancient Rabins in *Bereſit Rabba* (no mean book) in *Peraſach,* do ſay that *Tornunſus* asking how it ſhould appeare that the day which we keep, is the ſeventh day, on which God reſted after the creation of the world; *Rabbi Aquebah* (who lived 52 yeares after the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple) anſwered by an argument taken from the ſtones of the Sabbatical River, which in the ſix dayes are toſſed up and down with a continuall motion, but do reſt on the Sabbath day and move not. The ſame is ſaid in the *Babylonian Talmud, tractat. Sanhed. c.* 7. *& in Tanuh Peraſach. c.* 9. *In eodem Bereſit Raba, in Peraſach* 37. *Rabbi Simon* ſaith, *The ten Tribes were carried to the Sabbaticall river but Juda and Benjamin are diſperſed into all Countrys.* In *Aſirim Raba,* the laſt verſe of the Song, its ſaid, *Our bed is flouriſhing*; that it is meant the ten Tribes, which were carryed to the Sabbaticall river; and that river running all the week, doth cauſe the ten Tribes there remaining to be ſhut up; for though on the ſeventh day the river doth reſt, yet it is forbidden by our Law to take a journey then; and for that reaſon they remained there miraculouſly, as loſt, and concealed from us. So that of *Iſa.* 49. *That they ſay to the priſoners, go forth,* is interpreted of them in *Jalcut. R. Aquebah* after the ſame manner explains that of *Levit.* 36. 38. *And ye ſhal periſh among the heathen.* And that of *Iſa.* 27. *ult. And they ſhall come, who were ready to periſh in Aſſyria.* Becauſe they are remote from the reſt, therefore another Rabbi in Bamibar *Raba Paraſa* 16. applyes to them that of *Iſaiah* 49. 12. *Behold them who come from farre*: that ſo all thoſe Authors mention that River.

The teſtimony of *Joſephus* is famous, *lib.* 7. *de Bel. Jud. cap.* 24. ſaying, *The Emperour Titus paſſing between Arca, and Raphanea, Cities of King Agrippa, he ſaw the wonderfull river, which though it be ſwift, yet it is dry on every ſeventh day; and that day being paſt, it reſumes its ordinary courſe, as if it had no change; and it always*

always obſerves this order. It is called Sabbaticall; from the ſolemne feaſt of the Jews, becauſe it imitates their reſt every ſeventh day. I know ſome do otherwiſe expound thoſe words of *Joſephus*, but they hit not his meaning, as appears by this, that he calls the River, Sabbathio, or ſabbaticall: which word cannot be derived but from Sabbath; and who doth not ſee that it ceaſeth to flow, or move, on the Sabbath day; and ſo *Joſephus* muſt be underſtood according to my ſenſe. *Pliny* alſo confirms this opinion, *lib.* 1. *Nat. hiſt. c.* 2. he ſaith, *In Judea a River lies dry every Sabbath*; yet I think *Pliny* is deceived and ill informed, when he ſaith it is a River in Judea; neither is to be found in Judea, but in another place, where many Jewes live. *R. Selomoh Jarchi* who lived 540. years since mentions that River in *Comment. Talm.* ſaying, The ſtones, and ſand of that River do continually move all the ſix dayes of the week, until the ſeventh. *R. Mardochus Japhe* in his learned book *Jephe Thoar* ſaith, The *Arabians* derive Sabbathion from the Sabbath, who uſe to adde the paticle (ion) to adjectives. The ſame ſaith, that it was told him of an hour-glaſſe filled with the ſand of Sabbathion, which ranne all the weeke till the Sabbath. And I heard the ſame from my father; which teſtimony I account as good, as if I ſaw it my ſelfe; (for fathers do not uſe to impoſe upon their ſons.) He told me that there was an Arabian at *Lisborn*, who had ſuch an hour-glaſſe; and that every Friday at evening he would walk in the ſtreet called the new ſtreet, and ſhew this glaſſe to Jewes who counterfeited Chriſtianity, and ſay, *Ye Jewes, ſhut up your ſhops, for now the Sabbath comes.* Another worthy of credit, told me of another hour-glaſſe, which he had ſome years before, before the Port *Mysketa.* The Cadi, or Judge of that place, ſaw him by chance paſſing that way, and asked him, what it was? he commanded it to be taken away; rebuking the Mahomitans, that by this, they did confirme the Jewiſh Sabbath. I ſhould not ſpeak of theſe glaſſes, if the authority of ſuch a man whom I have alledged, did not move me; though I beleeve that God did not only work that miracle, that he might keep part of the ten Tribes there, but other alſo, as you may ſee in *Eſdras.* *R. Moſes Gerundenſis* a learned Cabaliſt, and Interpreter of the Law in *Paraſa Aazinu*, thinks the River Sabbathion to be the ſame with Gozan, of *Guz*, which ſignifies to ſnatch away, becauſe except the ſeventh day, on all the other, it carryes with it, by its ſwiftneſſe, the very ſtones. Of this there is mention in 2 *King.* whither the King of *Aſſyria* led his cap-

tives; and ſo relates *Benjamin Tudelenſis* in his journall, that part of the ten Tribes dwelt at the bank of that River. But I know not where the River Gozan is. In the year 5394, that is, 15 years agon in the City *Lubin*, two *Polonians* after they had travelled long, they wrot in Dutch a book of the originiall of the Sabbaticall River, but the Senate commanded it to be burnt at the Mart of Breſlaw, by the perſwaſion of the Jeſuites. *Abraham Friſal* in his Orchot Olam. *c.* 26. will have this river to be in *India*, he ſaith, *The head of the Sabbaticall river is in the country of Upper India, among the rivers of Ganges.* And a little after, *The Sabbaticall river hath its originall from the other ſide of Kalikout* (which lyes far above the bound of *Lamik*, which he placeth beyond the *ſinus Barbaricus*) *and it parts the Indians from the Kingdome of the Jewes, which river you may certainly find there,* Though he takes *Gozan* for *Ganges*, for ſome nearneſſe of writing; yet its not to be doubted that in that place there are many Jewes, witneſſe *Johannes de Bairos* in his Decads. *Eldad Danita* ſpeaking of the four Tribes: which he placeth at *Gozan* ſaith, *The Sabbaticall river is among them.* *Joſephus* ſaith, that *Titus* ſaw the Sabbathion between *Arca* and *Raphanea*. Which teſtimony ſeems the truer, becauſe its not to be thought that *Joſephus* would tel a lie of him, by whom he might be rebuked. I think that ye muſt look for it not far from the Caſpian Sea: and I am not alone in this opinion. What ever it be it appeares that this river is ſomewhere, and that part of the ten Tribes are hid there; and I may ſay with *Moſes* in *Deut.* 29. 28, 29. *And the Lord caſt them out of their Land in anger, and in wrath; Secret things belong to the Lord our God.* For it is not known when they ſhall return to their Countrey; neither can it perfectly be ſhewed where they are, God ſuffering it, as its ſaid in *Deut.* 32. 26. *I determined to caſt them forth unto the ends of the earth, and to make their remembrance ceaſe from among men.* As if he ſhould ſay, I wil caſt them unto the furtheſt places of the world that none may remember them; and therefore they are truly in Scripture called *imprifoned*, and *loſt*.

SECT. 21.

NEither is there weight in the Argument which ſome have brought to me, if they be in the world, why doe we not know them better? There are many things which we know, and yet know not their original; are we not to this day ignorant of the heads of the four Rivers

Rivers, *Nilus, Ganges, Euphrates,* and *Tegris?* alſo there are many unknown Countryes. Beſides, though ſome live in knowne and neighbour Countrys, yet they are unknown by being behind Mountains; ſo it happened under the reign of *Ferdinand,* and *Iſabel,* that ſome Spaniards were found out by accident, at *Batueca,* belonging to the Duke of *Alva,* which place is diſtant but ten miles from *Salamanca,* and near to *Placentia,* whither ſome Spaniards fled, when the *Moors* poſſeſſed *Spaine,* and dwelt there 800 years. If therefore a people could lie hid ſo long in the middle of *Spaine,* why may we not ſay that thoſe are hid, whom God will not have any perfectly to know, before the end of days?

And theſe things we have gathered concerning the habitations of the ten Tribes, who, we beleeve, do ſtill keep the Jewiſh Rites, as in 2 *King.* 17. 26. when the Iſraelites were carryed captive by *Salmaneſer,* and thoſe of *Cuthah* came in their ſtead, an Iſraelitiſh Prieſt was ſent by the King, to teach them, becauſe Lyons infeſted them, for that they were ignorant that there was another worſhip uſed in the land: but when the Prieſt ſaw that it was impoſſible to take that people wholly off from Idolatry, he permitted them to worſhip divers gods, ſo that they would acknowledge one, to be the mover of all things. The ſame is alſo ſufficiently proved out of all the Hiſtories which we have alledged. And our brethren do keep the law more zealouſly out of their land, then in it, as being neither ambitious, nor contentious (which hath ſometimes happened with the family of *David*) by which means they might eaſily erre in the true Religion, not acknowledge *Jeruſalem,* and withdraw that obedience, which is due to the Lord, and to his Temple.

SECT. 22.

WEE learne out of the firſt of *Ezra,* that none of the ten Tribes entred the ſecond Temple; for it is ſaid that only ſome of the Tribe of *Judah,* and ſome of *Benjamin* did returne. *Ezra* alſo ſaith the ſame in the firſt of *Chronicles,* that *Salmaneſer* carryed the ten Tribes to *Hala, Habor,* and *Hara,* and to the river *Gozan* to this day: ſo that you may gather that at that time they were there. So likewiſe *Joſephus in Antiq; Ind. lib.* 11. *c.* 5.

Perhaps ſome will ſay, ſince *Media* and *Perſia,* are near to *Babylon,* why did they not return to *Jeruſalem* with the two Tribes? I anſwer, becauſe ſo few of the two neighbouring Tribes did return from thence

thence to *Jeruſalem*, for that they were wel ſeated in *Babylon*; or elſe becauſe they heard the Prophets ſay, that they muſt not look for any redemption but that which was to be at the end of dayes. How then can we thinke that they who were more remote, and alſo had learnt the ſame things of the Prophets, ſhould leave their place, perhaps to ſuffer new miſeries, and calamities? Beſides, we doe not read that *Cyrus* gave leave to any to return, but only to the two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*. And alſo it is probable (as ſome Authors affirme) that they could not goe up from thence, becauſe they had continually Wars with the neighbour people.

SECT. 23.

HItherto we have ſhewed that the ten Tribes are in divers places, as in the *Weſt-Indies*, in *Sina*; in the confines of *Tartary*, beyond the river *Sabbathion*, and *Euphrates*, in *Media*, in the Kingdome of the *Habyſſins*; of all which the Prophet *Iſaiah* is to be underſtood, in *Iſa.* 11. 11. *It ſhall come to paſſe in that day, that the Lord ſhall ſet his hand the ſecond time to recover the remnant of his people, which ſhall be left from* Aſſyria, *from* Egypt, *from* Pathros, *from* Ethiopia, *from* Elam, *from* Sinear, *from* Hamath, *and from the Iſlands of the Sea.* From whence you may gather, that it is meant of thoſe places where the ten Tribes dwell. *Syria* and *Ægypt* ſhall be the two places of their generall meeting; as more fully hereafter.

Pathros, is not *Peluſium*, nor *Petra*, but *Parthia*, neare to the Caſpian Sea, where I thinke, with many others, the Sabbaticall river is. Although there is a *Pathros* in *Ægypt*, as the learned *Samuel Bochardus* ſaith in his holy Geography.

Chus, according to common opinion, is *Æthiopia*, as is proved out of *Jer.* 13. 23. and in this place of *Jeremy* are meant the *Iſraelites*, who live in the Country of the *Abyſſins*.

Elam, is a Province in *Perſia*, as it appeares in *Dan.* 8. 2. where are deſert places, in which, perhaps, the remnant of the ten Tribes is.

Shinar, is a Province about *Babylon*, as in *Gen.* 10. 10. where *Babel* is ſaid to be in *Shinar*; and *Dan.* 1. 2. it is ſaid, that *Nebuchadnezzar* carryed the holy Veſſels to the Land of *Shinar*.

Hamath, there are many Hamaths mentioned in the Scripture, many underſtand it of *Antioch*; but becauſe Geographers reckon up 12. places

places named *Antioch*, therefore we can affirme nothing for certain; but I thinke, that that is meant, which is placed in *Sythia*. The ſeventy Interpreters by *Hamath*, underſtand the Sun, from *Hamath* the Sun; and they tranſlate it, From the riſing of the Sun; and I thinke it is no ill tranſlation; for hereby all the *Iſraelites* who are in greater *Aſia*, *India*, and *Sina*, may be underſtood.

The Iſlands of the Sea; ſo almoſt all tranſlate it; but I thinke it is to be rendred The Iſlands of the Weſt, for (*jam*) in holy Scripture ſignifies *The Weſt*, as in *Gen.* 28. 14. and in many other places; and upon this account thoſe *Iſraelites* are implyed, who are Weſtward from the Holy Land, among whom the *Americans* are.

SECT. 24.

THe Prophet adds in *Iſa.* 11. 12. *And he ſhall ſet up a ſigne for the Nations, and he ſhall aſſemble the out-caſts of* Iſrael, *and gather together the diſperſed of* Judah *from the foure quarters of the earth.* Where he notes two things; 1. That he cals the *Iſraelites* out-caſts, but the *Iewes* ſcattered; and the reaſon is, becauſe the ten Tribes are not only farre off from the Holy Land, but alſo they live in the extremities and ends of Countries; from whence the Prophet cals them *caſt-out*. But he doth not ſay, that the *Iſraelites* are to be gathered from the foure quarters of the Earth, becauſe they are not ſo diſperſed through the World, as the Tribe of *Iudah* is, which now hath Synagogues, not only in three parts of the World, but alſo in *America*. The Prophet adds in *ver.* 13, *The envy alſo of* Ephraim *ſhall depart, and the adverſaries of* Judah *ſhall be cut off*. For then there ſhall be no contention between *Iudah*, and the ten Tribes, which are comprehended under the name of *Ephraim*, becauſe their firſt King *Jeroboam* was of that Tribe. And then, as it is in *Ezek.* 37. 22. *One King ſhall be King over them all, and they ſhall be no more two Nations, neither ſhall they be divided any more into two Kingdoms.* There ſhall be one King to them both, of the family of *David*. Alſo the Lord at that redemption will dry up *Nilus*, and *Euphrates*, and will divide it into ſeven ſtreames (anſwerable to his drying up the red Sea when they came out of *Ægypt*) perhaps that the ſeven Tribes, which are in thoſe parts, may goe over it; as they paſſe into their Country, as *Iſaiah* ſaith in ch. 27. 12, 13. *And it ſhall be in that day, and he ſhall ſhake off from the bank of the river*, (ſome underſtand *Euphrates*) *unto the river of* Egypt (*Nilus*) *and ye, O children of* Iſrael, *ſhall be gathered one by one.* Which was never done in the captivity of *Babylon*.

The Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith in chap. 11.11. *that he will return them the ſecond time,* &c. Now the redemption from *Babilon,* cannot be called ſuch an one, becauſe all of them were not brought back to their Country. But the redemption ſhall be univerſall to all the Tribes, as it was when they went out of *Ægypt,* which redemption ſhall be like the firſt in many things, as I ſhewed in the third part of my *Reconciler*; and ſo it may be called the ſecond, in reference to that firſt from *Ægypt.* Whence *Jeremiah* ſaith, Cha. 23.7,8. *That then it ſhall not be ſaid, He that brought* Iſrael *out of* Egypt, *but from the North, and from all Countries, whither he had driven them.* That they ſhall not mention their departure from *Ægypt,* for the cause fore-mentioned.

SECT. 25.

THe ſame Prophet, *ſc. Iſa.* 43. 5, 6. ſaith, *I will bring thy ſeed from the Eaſt, and will gather thee from the Weſt: I will ſay to the North, Give up*; *and to the South, Keep not back*; *bring my Sons from farre, and my Daughters from the ends of the earth.* For *Media, Perſia,* and *China,* lye on the Eaſt; *Tartary* and *Scythia* on the North; the Kingdome of the *Abyſſins* on the South; *Europe* on the Weſt, from the Holy Land. But when he ſaith, *Bring ye my ſons from farre,* he underſtands *America*; ſo that in thoſe verſes he underſtands all thoſe places, in which the Tribes are detained. Alſo in Chap. 49. from ver. 7. to the end of the Chapter, he ſaith, that that returne ſhall be moſt happy. And in ch. 56. verſ. 8. God ſaith, *He that gathers the out-caſts of Iſrael.* And the Prophet *Jeremiah,* in ch. 33. ver. 16. *In thoſe dayes ſhall* Juda *be ſaved, and* Jeruſalem *ſhall dwell ſafely.* It is certaine, and *Jerome* aſſents to all our Authors, that when *Judah* is joyned with *Iſrael,* by *Iſrael* the ten Tribes are meant. The ſame adds in *chap.* 31. *ver.* 15. in the comforting of *Rachel,* who wept for the carrying away her ſons, *Joſeph,* and *Benjamin,* the firſt by *Salmaneſer* into *Aſſyria,* the laſt by *Nebuchadnezzar* into *Babilon,* he ſaith, in verſ. 16. *Refraine thy voyce from weeping, and thine eyes from teares, for thy work ſhall be rewarded.* And it followes in Chap. 33. ver. 7. *And I will cauſe the captivity of* Judah, *and the captivity of* Iſrael *to returne, and I will build them up as at the firſt. Ezekiel* ſaith the ſame in Chap. 34. 13. and in Chap. 37. 16. under the figure of two ſticks, on which were written the names of *Judah,* and *Ephraim,* by which he proves the gathering together of the twelve Tribes to be subject to *Meſſiah*

Meſſiah the Son of *David*, in ver. 22. he ſaith, *And one King ſhall be King to them all*; according as *Hoſea* ſaith in Chap. 2. So alſo ſaith *Amos*, in chap. 9. verſ. 14, 15. *And I will bring againe the captivity of my people* Iſrael, *and they ſhall build the waſt Cities, and inhabite them; and they ſhall plant vine-yards, and drink the wine thereof: they ſhall make gardens, and eate the fruit of them. And they ſhall be no more pulled up out of their Land, which I have given them, ſaith the Lord thy God.* So alſo *Mica.* in cha. 2. 12. *I will ſurely aſſemble,* O Jacob, *all of thee, I will gather the remnant of* Iſrael, *I will alſo place him as the flock in the sheep-fold.* For that in the captivity of *Babilon* all were not gathered together. The Prophet *Zechariah* in chap. 8. 7. and in chap. 10. 6. and all the reſt of the Prophets do witneſſe the ſame thing.

SECT. 26.

BUt which way that redemption ſhall be, no man can tell; but only ſo farre as we may gather out of the Prophets. That at that time the ten Tribes ſhall come to *Jeruſalem* under the leading of a Prince, whom ſome Rabbins in the *Talmud*, and in some places of the Chaldy Paraphraſe, doe call *Meſſiah* the Son of *Joſeph*; and elſewhere *Meſſiah* the Son of *Ephraim*; who being ſlaine in the laſt War of *Gog* and *Magog*, ſhall ſhew himſelſe to be *Meſſiah* the ſonne of *David*, who ſhall be, as *Ekekiel*, and *Hoſea* ſay, *The everlaſting Prince of all the twelve Tribes.* Our wiſe men doe, in many places, eſpecially in the *Babilonian* Talmud, *in tract. ſuca: c.* 5. make mention of that *Meſſiah* the ſonne of *Ephraim*; where they ſay, that he ſhall dye in the laſt war of *Gog*, and *Magog*; and they ſo expound that of *Zach.* 12. 10. *And they ſhall looke upon me whom they have pierced, and they ſhall mourne for him, as one mourneth for his only ſonne.* They adde alſo, that the foure Captaines, of whom the ſame Prophet ſpeakes in chap. 11. are, *Meſſiah* the ſon of *David*, *Meſſiah* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the Prophet *Elias*, and the high Prieſt; which foure are thoſe dignities, which ſhall ſhew their power in that bleſſed age. Obſerve, that ſometime they call *Meſſiah* the ſon of *Ephraim*, ſometime of *Joſeph*; for he ſhall come out of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and ſhall be Captaine of all the ten Tribes, who gave their name to *Ephraim*, becauſe that their firſt King *Jeroboam* was of that Tribe. Not without cauſe doe they call him the ſon of *Joſeph*, for he was the true type of the houſe of *Iſrael*, in his impri-

ſonment, and future happineſſe. Adde to this, that he was ſo long hid from his brethren, that they did not know him: as in like manner the ten Tribes are at this day, who are led captive, but hereafter ſhall come to the top of felicity, in the ſame manner as *Joſeph* did. That *Meſſiah* of *Joſeph* ſhall dye in the battel of *Gog*, and *Magog*, and afterward ſhall riſe againe, that he may enjoy the dignity, not of a Kingly Scepter, but the office only of a Vice-roy, as *Joſeph* in *Ægypt*; for that the Empire of the houſe of *Iſrael* fell under the reigne of *Hoſea* the ſon of *Elah*; as the Prophet *Amos* ſaith in chap. 5. 2. Therefore the Kingdome of the ten Tribes ſhall not be reſtored, as *Ezekiel* ſaith in Chap. 37. under the reigne of *Meſſiah* the ſon of *David*, who ſhall be everlaſting; and by the death of *Meſſiah* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the ten Tribes ſhall ſee, that God will not that they ſhould have more Kings then one. As its already ſpoken.

SECT. 27.

THoſe Tribes then ſhall be gathered from all quarters of the earth, into Countries neare to the Holy Land; namely, into *Aſſyria*, and *Ægypt*; and from thence they ſhall goe into their Country; of which *Iſaiah* ſpeakes, in chap. 27. 13. *And it ſhall be in that day, that the great trumpet ſhall be blown, and they who were loſt, ſhall come into the Land of* Aſſyria; *and they who were caſt out, into* Egypt; *and ſhall worſhip the Lord in the holy mount at* Jeruſalem. As if he ſhould ſay, as trumpets ſound, to call any army together: ſo they ſhall come together, who were dead (that is, diſperſed through all *Aſia*) into *Aſſyria*; and the out-caſts (that is, which are in *America*) ſhall come by the *Mediterranean* Sea to *Alexandria* of *Ægypt*; and in the like manner thoſe who are in *Africa*, when *Nilus* ſhall be dried up, and *Euphrates* ſhall be divided; as we have already ſaid. And becauſe the gathering together of the captivity, ſhall begin at thoſe who are in *America*, therefore *Iſaiah* ſaith, *The Iſlands ſhall truſt in me, and the ſhips of* Tarſis (that is of the Ocean) *firſt of all, that they may bring thy ſons from farre, and with them, their ſilver, and gold.* They ſhall then come with ſpeed from thoſe Countries, proſtrating themſelves at the mountaine of the Lord in *Jeruſalem*, as the Prophet *Hoſea* ſaith of that redemption in chap. 11. 11. *They ſhall come as birds out of* Egypt, and as *Doves out of* Aſſyria; ſo ſaith *Iſaiah* in Chap. 60. 8. *Who are thoſe that fly as a cloud, and as Doves to their neſts?* They which come

come firſt, ſhall alſo partake of this joy, to ſee others to come to them every moment; for which cauſe the ſame Prophet ſaith, *Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold them who gather themſelves to thee.* And because the two Countrys of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, ſhall first of all kindly receive the people of *Iſrael*, and ſhall know the truth, firſt of all imbracing the Religion of the Jewes, ſacrificing and praying to God, therefore the prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith, in c. 19. 25. *Bleſſed be Egypt my people, and Aſſyria the worke of my hands; but Iſrael is my inheritance.* For ſo thoſe words are to be underſtood.

SECT. 28.

ALL thoſe are the ſayings of the holy Prophets, from whence doth appeare the returne of Iſrael into their Country. It is given to none to know the time thereof, neither is it revealed to *Rabby Simeon ben Johay*, the Author of the Zoar; becauſe that God hath reſerved that myſtery to himſelf, as *Moſes* ſaith. *It is hid with me.* And *Iſaiah* in ch. 63. 4. *For the day of vengeance is in my heart, and the year in which the redemption ſhall come.* Which the Rabbins thus interpret, *I have reveiled it to my heart and not to Angells:* and elſewhere, *If any man tell you when Meſſiah ſhall come, beleeve him not.* So alſo the Angel ſaith to *Daniel* ch. 12. 9. *All things are cloſed up and ſealed to the time of the end.* Therefore all thoſe, who ſearch after that time, as *Rabbi Seadiah, Moſes Egyptius, Moſes Gerundenſis, Selomoh Jarchi; Abraham bar Ribi Hijah, Abraham Zacculo, Mordehai Reato, and Iſaac Abarbanel,* have been miſtaken; for that they would go beyond humane capacity, and reveale that, which God concealed. And even to *Daniel* himſelfe (to whom was made knowne the ſecret of the change of the four Monarchies) it was ſo revealed to him, that hee confeſſed he did not underſtand it. Our Ancients did point at this from the Letter (m) in *Iſa.* 9. 7. where he ſaith, *Of the increaſe of his government:* which (m) in the Hebrew, being ſuch an (m) which they write onely in the end of words, and a cloſe letter, yet is put in the middle of the word, againſt common practiſe: becauſe that the time of the fifth Monarchy ſhall be hid, till the time when it ſhall begin.

SECT. 29.

YEt this I can affirm, that it ſhall be about the end of this age; and ſo the Prophet ſpeaks of that age *about the end of dayes:* and that after many labours, and a long captivity. So *Balaam* propheſies, *Numb.* 24. 17. *I ſee, but not now; I behold, but not near; a Star ſhall come out of Jacob.* Iſa. 24. 22. *They ſhall be caſt into priſon, and they ſhall be viſited after many daies.* And Iſa. 49. 14. *And Sion ſaid, The Lord hath forſaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me.* Hoſ. 3. 4, 5. *The children of Iſrael ſhall be many days without a King, and without a Prince: And after that they ſhall ſeek the Lord their God, and David their King.* The King and Prophet complains of that delay, in *Pſa.* 44. *Pſa.* 69. *Pſa.* 74. *Pſa.* 77. *Pſal.* 83. And after that in *Pſal.* 89. 50. 51. he thus concludes, *Remember, O God, the reproach of thy ſervants, who ſuffer ſo many injuries of ſo many people: wherewith they have reproached the ſteps of thy Meſſiah.* As yet at this day it is ſaid, that ALTHOUGH THE MESSIAH WERE LAME, HE MIGHT HAVE COME BY THIS TIME. Though we cannot exactly ſhew the time of our redemption, yet we judge it to be near. For,

1 We ſee many propheſies fulfilled, and others alſo which are ſubſervient to a preparation for the ſame redemption; and it appears by this, that during that long and ſore captivity, many calamities are fore-told us under the four Monarchies. *David* ſaith in *Pſal.* 120. 7. *Lord when I ſpeake of peace, they ſpeake of war.* And elſewhere, *We are ſlaine all the day for thy name, and are accounted for ſheep which are ſlain.* In Iſa. 53. 7. *He ſhall be led as a ſheep to the ſlaughter, and as a lamb before his ſhearers: he ſhall be dumb, and ſhall not open his mouth.* O how have we ſeen theſe things in the baniſhments of *England*, *France* and *Spaine*! and how have they proved thoſe crimes, which moſt falſe men have ſaid that ours did commit! Behold they have ſlaine them, not for wickedneſſes, which they did not commit, but for their riches which they had. O how have we ſeen all thoſe things done by divine providence, for that thoſe misfortunes for the moſt part happened on the ninth day of the month *Ab*, an ominous, and unhappy day, on which the firſt, and ſecond Temple were burnt, and the ſpies wept without a cauſe.

SECT.

SECT. 30.

WHat ſhall we ſay of that horrible monſter, the Spaniſh Inquiſition, what cruelty hath not daily been uſed againſt a company of miſerable ones, innocents, old men, and children, of every ſex and age, who were ſlaine, becauſe they could not divine who was their ſecret accuſer? But let us ſee, why in al thoſe places (in which that Spaniſh tyrannicall Empire rules,) they were ſlain, who would obſerve the law of *Moſes*; and by how many, and how great miracles hath that law been confirmed; and what unrighteousneſſe is there in it? We daily ſee examples of conſtancy in ours, worthy of all praiſe, who for the ſanctifying of Gods name, have been burnt alive. Truly many who are ſtill living, can witneſſe all thoſe things. In the year 1603. At *Lisbone, Diogo d'Aſſumean*, a Monk of 24. years, was burnt alive, who defended himſelfe in the Inquiſition againſt ſome, who would have reduced him to Chriſtianity, who was born a Chriſtian, and made a Jew; which all wonder at; the Inquiſitors being grieved that they had publiſhed the reaſons which he had alledged, would have recalled their ſentence; but it was then too late; for it was divulged through the world, which I my ſelfe have by me. Alſo the Lord *Lope de Veray Alacron* deſerves the praise of Martyrdome, who being born of a noble, and eminent Family, and very learned in the Hebrew, and Latine tongues, did imbrace our Religion; neither thought it ſufficient to be ſuch himſelfe, but diſcovered himſelfe to many others; thereupon in *Ann.* 1644 in the twentieth of this age, he being impriſoned at *Valladolid*, though he lived in the darke, yet he diſcovered light to many; neither could the great number of Doctors, nor the greater affliction of his parents, move him from his enterpriſe, either by tears or by promiſes. He circumciſed himſelf in priſon (O ſtrange act, and worthy of all praiſe!) and named himſelfe *beleeving Judas*; and at laſt, as a ſecond *Iſaac*, offered himſelfe to the flames, contemning life, goods, and honours, that hee might obtain immortall life, and good things that cannot periſh; in the 25th. yeer of his age. Now though thoſe were not of the family of Iſrael, yet they obtained an immortall glory, which is better then this life.

Alſo we have many examples of our own, which did equalize them, of which that is one, which is done in our time, and is worthy to be remembred; *Iſaac Caſtrenſis Tartas* (whom I knew, and ſpoke with)

with) a learned young man, and verſed in the Greek, and Latine; he being but newly come to *Fernambuc*, was taken by the *Portugeſe*, and carryed to *Lisbone*, and burnt alive; he was a young man of 24. years old ; ſcorning riches, and honours, which were offered to him, if he would turne Chriſtian. They who ſay he was a traytor, do lye egregiouſly; for he did defend that place where he was Governour, moſt valiantly; as ours do deport themſelves in thoſe fortified places which are committed to their charge. The ſame Martyrdom was undergone at *Lima*, by *Eli Nazarenus*, in *Ann.* 1639. *Janu.* 23. who after he had lived 14 whole years in priſon, all which time hee eat no fleſh, leſt he ſhould defile his mouth ; he called himſelfe by that name, after he had circumciſed himſelfe. Such a Martyr alſo, this year, was *Thomas Terbinon* in the City of *Mexico*.

SECT. 31.

IF the Lord fulfilled his word in calamities, he will fulfill it alſo in felicities. Therefore *Rabbi Aquibah* laughed, when hee ſaw a Fox run out of the Temple being deſtroyed, though his companions wept; he ſaying, Now is fulfilled that prophecy of *Jeremiah*, *Lament.* 5. 18. *And the foxes ſhall run therein*; and he added, and thoſe bleſſings alſo ſhall follow, which the Lord hath promiſed. We ſee all the curſes of God come to paſſe, which are mentioned in *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* ; as well as thoſe, which concerne our being ſcattered to the ends of the earth (which is *Portugall*) and thoſe concerning the calamities of the Inquiſition; and thoſe of our baniſhments, as I have opened in my booke, *De termino vitæ*; from whence it appears, that all the happy propheſies ſhall be fulfilled. And as we have periſhed, ſo alſo ſhall *Bozra* (that is, *Rome*) periſh. See *Iſa.* 34. 6.

SECT. 32.

SEcondly; The argument which we bring from our Conſtancy under ſo many evills, cannot be eluded, that therefore God doth reſerve us for better things. *Moſes* in *Levit.* 26. 44. ſaith, *Though they be in the land of their enemies, yet I will not caſt them away, neither will I abhor them to deſtroy them utterly, and to breake my covenant with them, for I am the Lord their God.* And truly theſe things are now fulfilled, for that in this captivity, and among the many reproaches which we Jewes ſuffer, yet many of ours are ho-

honourably entertained by Princes, with a ſingular affection. So *D. Iſhac Abarbanel*, who comes of *Davids* line, is Counſellor to the King of *Spaine*, and *Portugall*. By this alſo he hath got a great name, for that he compoſed the differences, which aroſe beene the King of *Portugall*, and the Republique of *Venice*. And from that Family of *Abarbanel* (which I note by the by) doe proceed my Children, by my wives ſide. And in the houſe of his ſonne, *D. Samuel Abarbanel*, and of his wife *Benuenida*, the Lady *Leonora de Toledo*, was brought up at *Naples*, who is the Daughter of *D. Peter de Toledo*, the Vice-roy of *Naples*; who afterwards was married to the moſt eminent Duke *Coſmus de Medicis*, and having obtained the Dukedome of *Toſcani*, ſhe honoured *Benuenida* with as much honour, as if ſhe were her mother.

That peace, which the *Venetians* made with the Emperour *Sultan Selim*, 75. yeares agone, was made, and ratified by a certaine Jew *Don Selomo Rophe*, who was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Venice*, and received with great pomp, by the *Venetians*. At *Conſtantinople* D. *Ben Jaeſe*, *Anaucas*, and *Sonſinos* are of great authority with the *Turk*. In *Ægypt* the *Jewes* were alwayes *Saraph baxas*, and alſo at this day is *D. Abraham Alholn*. Who knowes not that *D. Joſephus Naſſi*, otherwiſe called *Joannes Micheſius*, about the 66. yeare of the former age, was Duke of *Naccia*, Lord of *Milum*, and of the ſeven Iſlands, of whom ſee *Famian. Strada* in *Hiſtor. Belgic. part.* 1. *lib.* 5. He was raiſed to theſe honours by *Sultan Selim*. As alſo by *Sultan Amurat*, *Jacob Aben Jaes*, otherwiſe called *Alvoro Mendez*, was made Governour of *Tyberias*; witneſſe *Boterus* in *Relation. part.* 3. *lib.* 2. in *Barbary*, the Lords *Rutes* were always Governours of *Sekes*, *Phes*, and *Taradanta*. In *Ann.* 1609. *D. Samuel Palaxe* was ſent Ambaſſadour to the States, by *Mulai Zidan* the King of *Maracco*. But he dyed at the *Haghe* in *Anno.* 1616. And the moſt eminent Prince *Maurice*, and the Nobles, were at his Funerall. In *Perſia* who knowes not of what account they are? There, thirty yeares ſince, *Elhazar* was ſecond to the King, and as it were Governour. Now *David Jan* ſucceeds him, to whom others alſo being joyned, they live in the Court. And that muſt not be forgot, that when the moſt eminent Duke of *Holſtein* ſent *Otto Burchmannus* Ambaſſadour to *Perſia*, in *Ann.* 1635. he deſired commendatory letters from our *Jewes* at *Hamburgh*, to them, who (as we have already told you) doe live there in the Court, that they would

 make

make way there, for him that was a ſtranger: that he might diſpatch his affaires: Which was alſo performed. By which means ours, who are in *Perſia*, diſmiſſed *Burchmannus*, with rich gifts, and with Letters to the moſt eminent Duke of *Holſtein*, which the twelve Chuzæ, or Princes, had subſigned. A copy of which Letters the moſt excellent *D. Benjamin Muſſapha*, one familiar with the Prince helped me to. Alſo *Claudius Duretu en ſon threſor des langues, fol.* 302. ſaith, that there are almoſt an infinite number of *Jewes* in *Aſia*, eſpecially in *India*, and that King *Cochini* is their great favourer. Yea *Linſchotes* ſaith (where he treats of *Cochini*) that they have Synagogues there, and that ſome of them are of the Kings Counſell. At *Prague*, *Mordocheas Maiſel* had Armes given him by the Emperour *Matthias*, who alſo knighted him. Which honour *Iacob Bathſebah* alſo had, under the Reigne of *Ferdinand*; and many other Families are graced with other honours. And in this very captivity (who could thinke it) they are ſo wealthy, that (Gods providence favouring them) they may challenge to themſelves a place among the moſt Noble.

SECT. 33.

WHo can enumerate the number of ours, who are renowned by fame, and learning? The learned *R. Moſes bar Maimon* was Phiſician to *Saladin* the King of *Ægypt*. *Moſes Amon* to the Emperour *Sultan Bajaſeth*. *Elias Montalto* to the moſt eminent Queen of France, *Loyſia de Medicis*; and was alſo her Counſellor. *At* Padua *Elias Cretenſis* read Philoſophy; and *R. Abraham de Balmas*, the Hebrew Grammer. And how much honour had *Elias Grammaticus* at *Rome?* And almoſt all the Princes of *Italy* honoured him with all kinde of honour, *Abraham Kolorni*; as appeares by a Letter writ to him by *Thomas Garzoni nella ſua piazza univerſale del mundo*. *Picus Mirandula* (who uſeth to ſay, *That he had but ſmall underſtanding, who only looked after his owne things, and not after other mens*) and others, had Hebrew teachers. *David de Pomis* dedicated his Book to Pope *Sextus* the fifth, who lovingly, and courteouſly received both the Author, and work. So at this day we ſee many deſirous to learne the Hebrew tongue of our men. Hence may be ſeene that God hath not left us; for if one perſecute us, another receives us civilly, and courteouſly; and if this Prince treats us ill, another treats us well; if one baniſheth us out of his country,

try, another invites us by a thousand priviledges; as divers Princes of *Italy* have done, the most eminent King of *Denmarke*, and the mighty Duke of *Savoy* in *Nissa*. *And doe we not see, that those Republiques doe flourish, and much increase in Trade, which admit the Israelites?*

SECT. 34.

MOses saith in his last song, that God would revenge the bloud of his people who are scattered. And *Ieremiah* saith, in chap. 2. 3. *Israel is the Lords holy thing, the first fruits of his increase; all who devoure him shall be found guilty; evill shall come upon them, saith the Lord.* And that the Histories of divers times, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* to these very times, doe testifie. Have not the Monarchies of great Princes been destroyed? Consider with me the miserable ends of *Antiochus*, of *Pompey*, of *Sisibuthus*, of *Philip* the King of *France*, of *Alonsus* the sonne of *Iohn* the second. And we may remember, how King *Sebastian* with his fourth Generation, and with all his Nobles, was slaine in a battell of *Africa*, in that same place, in which he had caused the *Iews* to be banished. *Ferdinand*, and *Isabel* were the great Persecutors of our Nation, but how did both he, and she dye? as for him his Son-in-law, and his owne Subjects did persecute him; and his only sonne dyed (leaving no issue) on his Wedding-day, being seventeen yeares old. His daughter being Heire of the Kingdome, and of her Fathers hatred, would not marry to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, unlesse he would compell us to be banished, and change our Religion. But she dyed in Child-birth of her Sonne *Saragoci*, and also her Son, before he was halfe a yeare old; and the succession was devolved upon the Kingdome of *Spaine*. It is not long since, that the *Spaniards* exercised upon us at *Mantua*, what ever cruelties they could invent; what shall we say of that at *Madrid* in the yeare 1632, was done by the Inquisition, the King, and Princes of the Kingdome concurring; but in the very same month dyed the Infant *Charles*, and their Kingdome declined. What wonder is it if God hath chastised divers Kingdomes by sundry wayes: but of this I treat farther in my History of the *Iewes*. Let us conclude therefore, that that good, which God hath promised, will shortly come, since we see that we have suffered those evils, which he hath threatned us with, by the Prophets.

SECT. 35.

3ly, THe ſhortneſſe of time (when we beleeve our redemption ſhall appeare) is confirmed by this, that the Lord hath promiſed that he will gather the two Tribes, *Iudah*, and *Benjamin*, out of the foure quarters of the World, calling them *Nephuſſim*. From whence you may gather, that for the fulfilling of that, they muſt be ſcattered through all the corners of the World; as *Daniel* ſaith, *Dan.* 12. 7. *And when the ſcattering of the holy people ſhall have an end, all thoſe things ſhall be fulfilled.* And this appeares now to be done, when as our Synagogues are found in *America*.

SECT. 36.

4ly, TO theſe, let us adde that, which the ſame Prophet ſpeakes, in ch. 12. ver. 4. *That knowledge ſhall be encreaſed*; for then the propheciesſhall better be underſtood, the meaning of which we can ſcarce attaine to, till they be fulfilled. So after the *Otteman* race began to flouriſh, we underſtood the propheſie of the two leggs of the Image of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which is to be overthrowne by the fifth Monarchy, which ſhall be in the World. So *Jeremiah* after he had handled in Chap. 30. the redemption of *Iſrael*, and *Judah*, and of the war of *Gog*, and *Magog* (of which *Daniel* alſo ſpeakes in ch. 12.) when he treats of the Scepter of the Meſſiah the ſon of *David*, of the ruine of the Nations, of the reſtoration of *Judah*, of holy *Jeruſalem*, and of the third Temple, he adds in ver. 24. *The fierce anger of the Lord ſhall not returne, till he hath executed it, and till he hath performed the intents of his heart*; *in the latter dayes ye ſhall underſtand it.* From whence followes what we have ſaid, that the time of redemption is at hand. And becauſe *Jeremiah* in that Chapter makes an abridgement of all things that ſhall be, therefore it is ſaid in ver. 2. *Write thee all the words which I have ſpoken to thee in a book.* By this meane making the Propheſie clearer, by relating in a cleare ſtyle, whatever the Prophets had fore-told; imitating *Moſes*, the laſt words of whoſe ſong are, *Sing, O ye Nations, with his people*, in *Deut.* 32. 43. Alſo the laſt words which he ſpake, after that he had bleſſed the Tribes, are theſe, *Happy art thou, O* Iſrael: *who is like to thee, O people? ſaved by the Lord, who is the ſheild of thy help, and the ſword of thy excellency; and thine*

thine enemies ſhall be found lyars to thee, and thou ſhalt tread upon their high places, in *Deut.* 33. 29. From whence it appeares, that God will revenge the bloud of *Iſrael,* which had been ſhed. *Joel* confirmes the ſame in ch. 3. 19. *Ægypt ſhall be a deſolation, and* Edom *ſhall be a filthy deſert, for the violence, and injury offered to the* Jewes, *and becauſe they have ſhed innocent bloud in their Land.* And as they ſhall be puniſhed by the juſt judgement of God, who wiſh us evill: ſo alſo God will give bleſſings upon them who favour us. And thoſe are the trees of the field which then ſhall rejoyce. So God ſaith to *Abraham,* in *Gen.* 12. 3. *I will bleſſe them who bleſſe thee, and curſe them that curſe thee.*

SECT. 37.

THeſe are the things which I could gather concerning this matter, which hath not been heretofore handled; from whence theſe conſequences may be deduced.

1. That the *Weſt-Indies,* were anciently inhabited by a part of the ten Tribes, which paſſed thither out of *Tartary,* by the Streight of *Anian.*

2. That the Tribes are not in any one place, but in many; becauſe the Prophets have fore-told their return ſhall be into their Country, out of divers places; *Iſaiah* eſpecially ſaith it ſhall be out of eight.

3. That they did not returne to the ſecond Temple.

4. That at this day they keep the *Jewiſh* Religion.

5. That the prophecies concerning their returne to their Country, are of neceſſity to be fulfilled.

6. That from all coaſts of the World they ſhall meet in thoſe two places, *ſc. Aſſyria,* and *Ægypt*; God preparing an eaſie, pleaſant way, and abounding with all things, as *Iſaiah* ſaith, ch. 49. and from thence they ſhall flie to *Jeruſalem,* as birds to their neſts.

7. That their Kingdome ſhall be no more divided; but the twelve Tribes ſhall be joyned together under one Prince, that is under *Meſſiah* the Son of *David*; and that they ſhall never be driven out of their Land.

SECT. 38.

I Returne to the relation of our *Montezinus,* which I prefer before the opinions of all others as moſt true For that *Peru* ſhould be derived from the name *Ophir,* as *Gulielmus Poſtellus, Goropius in Ortelius,*

lius, Bozius de ſignis Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 3. Marinus in arca Noah, P. Sa. in 3. Reg. Pomarius in his *Lexicon*, and *Poſſevinus lib. 2. Biblith. c.* 8. do think, cannot be proved; as *Pineda* hath wel obſerved, in *Iob, c.* 28. *p.* 500. for we have ſaid out of *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, that that name was unknown to them of *Peru. Ophir* then is *Eaſt-India*, if we beleeve *Joſephus, lib.* 8. *Antiquit. Judaic. c.* 6. *& Acoſta in lib.* 1. *Hiſtor. Ind.* from whence *Solomon* fetched gold, and precious ſtones. But what *Gomara in part* 1. *hiſt. Ind. fol.* 120. and *Zarate in proœm. hiſt. Peru*, would have, that ours did paſſe over that famous, and much praiſed Iſland (by *Plato* in *Critia*, and *Timæus*) of *Atlantis*, and ſo went into the neighbour Iſlands of *Barlovent*, and from thence to the firm land, and at laſt to the Kingdom of *Peru*, and *New-Spain*; it is deſervedly exploded as fabulous; and *Acoſta* laughs at it, *in lib.* 1. *hiſt. Ind. c.* 22. But *Marcilius Ficinus in comment. in Timeum, c.* 4. *& Critia*, that he might defend *Plato*, thinkes (and his Diſciples, *Porphiry, Origen*, and *Proclus* doe follow him) that all that which is in *Critia*, and in *Timæus*, is to be underſtood allegorically. And who will beleeve *Leſcarbotus*, who ſaith that they are the *Canaanites*, who fled thither for feare of *Joſhua?* For I cannot be perſwaded that they fought out Countries ſo far remote. They who will have them of *Peru* to have come out of *Norwey*, or *Spain*, may be confuted by their very form, manners and the unlikeneſſe of their Languages. But that is more falſe, that they are *Iſraelites*, who have forgot circumciſion, and their rites. For they are of a comly body, and of a good wit, as ſaith Doct. *Johannes Huarte*, in his book which is called, *Examen ingenior. c.* 14. But contrarily all men know that the *Indians* are deformed, dul, and altogether rude. And we have abundantly ſhown, with how great ſtudy, and zeal, the *Iſraelites* have kept their Language, and Religion, out of their Country.

SECT. 39.

Montezinus then ſpeaks moſt likely; that as other people forced the *Iſraelites* to betake them to the mountains: ſo *America* being firſt of all inhabited by the perſecuting *Tartars*, they were driven to the mountains of *Cordillere*, where at laſt they were hid, as God would have it. Truly, comparing the *Iſraelites* themſelves, or their Laws, with other people, I ſee not any thing that comes nearer truth. Perhaps alſo *America* was not of old contiguous to *Aſia* on the North ſide. It doth not ſeeme to me ſuch an abſurdity, to ſay, that the *Iſraelites*

Iſraelites went out of *Tartary* into *America* by land; and afterward, that God, to preſerve his, among other miracles, alſo wrought this, to make that a Sea, where now is the ſtreight of *Anian*. Yea that might be don without a miracle, by accident, as we know that more than once, the Sea by a violent ſtorm hath carryed away the Land, and made Iſlands. *Xenophon in ſuis æquivoc.* mentions the inundations of *Ægypt*, which happened in the days of *Prometheus*, and *Hercules*. Alſo *Beroſus in lib.* 5. and *Diodorus li.* 6. mentions the inundation of *Attica*, in which *Athens* ſtands. *Pliny in lib.* 2. *c.* 85. *& lib.* 13. *c.* 11. *Strabo in l.* 1. *& l.* 12. and *Plutarch in Alexandr.* relate the drowning of the Iſle *Pharaonica*; of which *Luther* ſpeaks ſo elegantly in *lib. ultimo*. Beſides, who knows not how many, and how great Cities have at divers times been almoſt wholly ruined by ſeveral earthquakes? *Sueton, in Tiberio, c.* 48. writes, that under *Tiberius*, twelve Cities in *Aſia* have been by this means ruined. *Oroſius lib.* 7. *c.* 4. and *Dion Caſſius lib.* 57. do affirm the ſame, though they differ about the time. *Tacitus in lib.* 14, and *Euſebius in Chron.* relate the deſtruction of that famous and rich City of *Laodicea*. *Origen tom.* 28. *in Joan* and *Baronius tom.* 2. *Annal. Eccleſiaſt, Ann.* 340: do ſpeak of other earthquakes, which have deſtroyed divers, and very many men, and Cities. And *P. Alonſus in ſuo manual. tempor.* relates, that the ſame hath happened in our dayes; ſaith he, In the year 1638. *A great Earthquake happened in the Iſlands of the Tercerœ, but eſpecially in St. Michael, where the Governour dwells; for that unheard of ſhaking of the earth, and houſes, ſtruck ſo great terror into the Inhabitants, that al fled out of their houſes & lived in the fields, a little after, two miles from thence, they ſaw the Sea vomit up abundance of fiery matter, which made a very thicke ſmoake, which covered the very clouds; and it caſt up many great ſtones which ſeemed like rocks; part whereof falling downe againe, made an Iſland in the Sea which was halfe a mile over, and ſixty fathom high, & an hundred & fifty fathom deep. That hot exhalation which that fiery mountain ſent forth, pierced the very waters, and ſtifled ſo many fiſhes, that two Indian ſhips could not carry them.* The ſame Iſland two years after, was ſwallowed up again of the Sea.

SECT. 40.

HEE that doth ſeriouſly weigh thoſe things, may (I think) well gather, that the Sea of the Streight of *Anian* was an inundation. By affirming which, this doubt may be anſwered, *ſc.* That after

ter the univerſall Flood, man-kinde encreaſed againe, and all beaſts, which had been preſerved in the Arke. But how could ſo many kinds of beaſts, (which come by propagation, and are not bred out of the earth) be found in thoſe Countries? Some did ſwim thither, ſome were brought thither by ſome huntſmen, ſome were bred out of the earth, as *Auſtin* thinks it happened in the firſt Creation. But what Land-beaſt can ſwim over ſo great a Sea? And would Huntſmen carry Lyons thither, and other ſuch kind of beaſts, oftentimes to the great hazzard of their lives? And if God would have created thoſe beaſts out of the earth, he would not have commanded *Noah* to have kept them in the Ark. I am fully perſwaded, that the beaſts which are found there paſſed that way into *America*; unleſſe any thinks that this new world is joyned to the old, on ſome other ſide, as *Herrera* beleeves *Dec.* 3. *lib.* 11. *c.* 10.

SECT. 41.

AS for the other things in the relation of our *Montezinus*, they ſay nothing which ſavours of falſhood. For their ſaying that the *Semah*, truly it is the cuſtom of our people, in what part ſoever of the world they live; and it is the abridgement of the confeſſion and religion of the Jewes. That revelation of the Magicians whom they call *Mohanes*, it agrees with thoſe things which in 2 *Eſdras* you may ſee, concerning the Miracles which God wrought for the Iſraelites, as they paſſed over *Euphrates*, concerning thoſe conditions of not revealing ſecrets to any, but ſuch an one who hath ſeen three hundred Moons, (which make twenty five years) it appeares to be true, by what the famous *De Laet* tells in many parts of *America*, that the *Indians* do compute their years by Moones. That a ſecret muſt be told in the Field, doth not that argue a *Jewiſh* cuſtome, which the ancients have obſerved in *Jacob*? who being about to depart from *Laban*, he called his Wives into the field.

I now conclude this diſcourſe, in which this only was in my intention, that I might briefly, and compendiouſly declare mine, and the Rabbies opinion, concerning thoſe things which I have handled. I hope that this my indeavor will not be unacceptable, being deſired by many men famous both for Birth, and for Learning; not unprofitable, having therein explained the relation of *Montezinus*, with what brevity I could. The Name of God be bleſſed for ever. *Amen.*

CONSI-

CONSIDERATIONS
Upon the Point of the
CONVERSION
OF THE
JEWES:

GOD hath promiſed to doe great things in theſe laſt days, as namely, to ſubdue all his Enemies, to releive his people, to deſtroy all Tyranny and Oppreſſion both civil and eccleſiaſticall, and to ampliate the Bounds of Chriſts Kingdom, by a plentifull pouring forth of his ſpirit, and by converting the multitudes both of Jews and Gentiles. Herein he doth what the Ruler of the Feaſt ſaid to the Bridegroome in *John* 2. 10. *he keepes the beſt wine till the laſt*; he makes the laſt Act, the beſt part of the Comedy. Whereas the method of the Devill, and the World, is contrary; repreſented by *Nebuchadnezzars image*, whoſe head, or beginning, was of gold; but the feet, or ending, was of iron, and clay. And of theſe great good things (we being now upon the borders of the long-looked-for-*Canaan*) God hath given us ſome earneſt (which is a ſmall proportion, with the whole for kind) a bunch of grapes; *Og*, and the *Amorites* ſubdued. For he hath in our days arreſted the *Turks* greatneſſe; abated the formidableneſſe of the *German-Auſtrian Beaſt*; revealed in good meaſure the hypocriſie and lies of the falſe Prophet, who hath his ſeat at *Rome*; and hath brought to light the ſubtilties of Satan, who had ſhifted himſelfe into ſeverall dreſſes of pretended Reformation. Hee is riſen up like a mighty Gyant, againſt his enemies among

mong us, and elſewhere, and hath pleaded his peoples cauſe ſo ſignally, that all but thoſe whoſe judgement it is to be wilfully blind, will ſay, *The Lord is on our ſide.* He hath alſo ſcattered *Light*, and *Truth* in an unwonted meaſure, among all ſorts of people; he hath given forth his owne good Spirit more plentifully than formerly (except in thoſe extraordinary primitive times of Chriſtianiſm;) and hath inſtated us into liberty for our ſpirits; which though too many abuſe, and turne into licentiouſneſſe, or a liberty to ſinne, yet that is no diſpraiſe, but a commendation to the thing; for it is a ſigne that liberty is exceeding good in itſelfe, ſeeing the corruption or abuſe of it, is a thing ſo bad, but ſo hedged in by ſeverall Fences, as it hath pleaſed God in much mercy to direct the wiſdome of our State to, it is a choyſe mercy, and ſuch as is ſuitable to our Principles both Humane, and Chriſtian; Thus we have a Day-ſtar to tell us that day is at hand; ſomething prodromous concerning almoſt all the great things promiſed, and looked for, as might be more largely ſhowne, if that were my proper work. But yet nothing concerning *the returning of the Shulamite*, in *Cant.* 6. *ult.* which Mr. *Brightman* interprets to be the *Jewes* turning Chriſtian, the clock of their converſion hath not yet given warning; it is as midnight with them ſtill, as it was a thouſand yeares agone. Upon which, ſome ground the hopeleſneſſe of their repentance, but I dare not owne that Logick, but rather conclude thus; That therefore their Converſion ſhall be the work of God (of which more anon) with whom all difficulties are no hinderance; and though *Iſrael* be bond-men in *Ægypt*, and ſealed up to it by the darkneſſe of a midnight, yet let but God ſpeake, and they are immediately at liberty, and ſent away without waiting for the comming of the day.

Now we ought much to minde their Converſion, exerciſing thereupon our faith, our prayers, and alſo our enquiries, and that for theſe following reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe they have the ſame Humane nature with us; from this ground we ſhould wiſh well to all men, whether *Jew*, or *Gentile*; which is the precept of the Apoſtle, in 2 *Pet.* 1. 7. *To adde love to brotherly kindneſſe*; that is, not only to love Saints, but to love Men (though the Saints with a choyſe, and peculiar love.) Yea it is Gods owne practiſe, in *Mat.* 5. 45. There is a φιλανθρωπία in God (as *Paul* ſaith to *Titus*) a love to Man-kinde. *Plutarch* could obſerve that God is not called φίλιππος, he beares another manner

ner of love to men, than to horſes; ſo ought we to doe, and even upon this generall account, to love the *Jewiſh* Nation.

Secondly, becauſe of their extraction; Their root is holy, though now the Branches be degenerate and wilde; ſo in *Rom.* 11. verſ. 16, 17. Some good turnes are due to the bad children of good Parents for the Parents ſake; and this *Paul* expreſly urgeth, in *Rom.* 11. 28. *that they are beloved for the Fathers ſake*; yea the chief root, or head of their Nation, *Abraham* is myſtically our subſtituted Father, as in *Gal.* 4 laſt; *If ye be Chriſts, then are ye* Abrahams *ſeed, and heires according to the promiſe.* The *Jewes* are children, and heires of the fleſh of *Abraham*, but we of his faith; they by the Bond-woman, but we by the Free; but notwithſtanding, *Abraham* is our common Father, and therefore we ſhould love as brethren.

Thirdly, becauſe Gods covenant with the *Jewes* is not nulled, or broken, but only ſuſpended. It is with them as it was with *Nebuchadnezzars* tree, the leaves, fruit, and boughes were all ſcattered and broken, yet there was a chaine of braſſe upon the root, to reſerve that for future hopes; ſo though all true fruitfulneſſe, beauty, and ſymptoms of life are long ſince gone, yet there is a root, a ſeed, which ſhall bring forth in Gods time; and this ſeemes a maine ſcope of *Paul* in *Rom.* 11. To this purpoſe may that be alledged of *Mat.* 24. 22. *Except thoſe dayes ſhould be ſhortned, no fleſh ſhould be ſaved, but for the Elects ſake thoſe dayes ſhall be ſhortned*; that is, ſo great ſhall the ſlaughter of the *Jewes* be, at the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, that if thoſe deſtroying dayes ſhould laſt a little longer, their whole Nation would faile, and be cut off; which ſhall not be, becauſe God hath elect ones to be borne of that People in future times. Hence you ſee, that in their loweſt ebbe, that is, in the midſt of their greateſt guilt, and foreſt puniſhments, God hath ſtill an eye upon a number of elect ones of that Nation; and Gods Covenant was never ſo with them, or with any People, as to take the whole of them for his inheritance. In *Jer.* 31. 36, 37. Gods Covenant with *Iſrael* is ſurer than the Lawes of Nature (which we know, remaine unviolable to the Worlds end) and he ſaith, that muſt come to paſſe, before he will caſt off the Seed of *Iſrael*, for all that they have done; yea in *Iſa.* 54. 9, 10. God confirmes it to *Iſrael*, not only by the firmeneſſe of the Lawes of Nature, but alſo by an Oath; now what God ratifies with an Oath, is his abſolute and poſitive Wil, that which makes the concluſion immutable; as in *Heb.* 6. 18. And in this caſe God is ever

too ſtrong for all hardneſſe of heart, diſobedience, unbeleefe, and any impediments that can be. See alſo that full place of *Levit.* 26. 42. 44. and *ver.* 45. for I beleeve that place Propheticall, of times, and things not yet fulfilled.

Fourthly, We *Gentiles* were gainers by their caſting away, the whirlwind of Gods wrath that threw them downe, brought us much profit, even ſalvation itſelfe, *Rom.* 11. 12. *The fall of them becomes the riches of the World,* ver. 15. *The caſting away of them is the reconciling of the World;* implying, that we *Gentiles* were poore, and miſerable, till made rich, and happy by the *Jewes* ſpoyles, who by this meanes are as wretched as we formerly had been. Which conſideration muſt needs move an ingenuous ſpirit, to pitty thoſe ſo undone. Our Lord ſaith to a *Gentile,* in *Mark,* 7. 27. *Let the Children firſt be filled, for it is not meet to take the Childrens bread and to caſt it to the Doggs*: They were Children, and we were Doggs, and we Doggs have got the Childrens meat before their bellies were full; which, as it ſhould make us not to be high-minded; ſo alſo to pitty them, whoſe bread being taken away, and given to us, are brought to a ſtarving condition.

Fifthly, We ſhall be gainers by their receiving againe; it ſhould be motive ſufficient to us, that God ſhall be gainer by it, and that not only by the acceſſion of a whole Nation to him, and alſo of that Nation, which is as the loſt Sheep, the finding of which is a matter of great joy, *Luke* 15. But alſo becauſe as it is ſaid in *Pſal.* 102. 16. *When the Lord ſhall build up* Zion, *he ſhall appeare in his glory.* Now glory is a manifeſtation of excellency, and at that time Gods excellency ſhall ſhine forth, which is now much hid, and vailed; the excellency of his mercy, of his truth and faithfulneſſe, to remember an ancient Covenant made about foure thouſand yeares ſince, and his old friend *Abraham,* and the Patriarks; all which have ſeemed to be aſleep for many Generations together. So alſo in *Iſa.* chap. 12. compared with chap. 11. But not only God (which might have been a diſtinct reaſon) but we alſo ſhall receive great advantages thereby; for then there ſhall be not only an enlargement of good to us *Gentiles,* as a concomitant and ſynchroniſm with the *Jewes* converſion (the miſtake about which, hath, and doth cauſe black thoughts in ſome) as in *Apoc.* 7. 9. after the ſealing of the hundred, and forty, and foure thouſand (which relates to the time of the forty two moneths) a great multitude, and innumerable, of all Nations, Kindred,

Kindred, Tongues, and people ſtood before the Lambe, and were cloathed with white Robes; now theſe numbers of all Gentile-Nations are to be converted at that time when the *Jewes* are to be brought home; for it is to be at the ſounding of the ſeventh Trumpet. But beſide, the *Jewes* converſion ſhall in ſome ſort be the cauſe of it, elſe what meanes the Apoſtle in *Rom.* 11. 12. *How much more ſhall their fulneſſe be the riches of the Gentiles?* and in verſ. 15. *What ſhall the receiving of the* Jewes *be* (to the *Gentiles*) *but life from the dead?* The Apoſtle heightens the expreſſion of the benefit by their receiving, to an higher degree than what we got by their fall. It is obſervable, that the Goſpel did in ſome ſenſe, firſt goe out of *Sion*, for the Spirit who enabled the Disciples to preach and propagate it was there given; and *Micah* speaking of the times yet looked for, ſaith in *Mic.* 4. 2. *The Law ſhall goe forth out of* Sion, *and the Word of the Lord out of Jeruſalem*; that is, the fulneſſe of the Spirit, and knowledge of Chriſt ſhall ſtreame through the *Jewes* to the *Gentiles*. So that as it was in the firſt giving of the holy Spirit, he was firſt given to the *Jewes*, then to the *Gentiles*; yea by the *Jewes* to the *Gentiles*; ſo ſhall it be in the laſt dayes, fulfilling what *Paul* ſaith in *Rom.* 2. to the *Jew* firſt, and alſo to the *Gentile*, When God ſhall be reconciled to *Iſrael*, their condition wil be greatly changed; for they who are now actually the moſt accurſed people, then as in *Mic.* 5. 7. *The remnant of* Jacob *ſhall be in the midſt of many people as dew from the Lord*; *as the ſhowres upon the graſſe, that tarry not for man, nor waite for the ſons of men.* Dew, and Showers in thoſe hot Countries are Heavens bounty, a *cornucopia* of all good things; ſuch ſhall the *Jewes* be to the places where they ſhall be, when they ſhall owne the Lord Jeſus.

Sixthly, They were Gods firſt Wife (as I may ſay) for a conſiderable time they were a faithfull people; and many of them have been Martyrs for God. And theſe things God will thinke on, though we may ſleight them.

They were Gods firſt Wife. Did God ever aſſay to take any Nation before them, to be his owne people? Yea, did he take any beſide them, for two thouſand yeares together? In *Iſa.* 54. 6. *I have called thee as a woman forſaken, and grieved in ſpirit, and a wife of youth, when thou waſt refuſed, ſaith the Lord*; and what follows, verſ. 7. *For a ſmall moment have I forſaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee.* And in verſe 8. *With everlaſting kind-*

neſſe will I have mercy upon thee. We ſee God forgets not, though men may, and doe.

They were a faithfull people. As great was their unfaithfulneſſe; ſo there were times when great was their faithfulneſſe. In *Jer.*2.2. *I remember thee, the kindneſſe of thy youth, the love of thy eſpouſals, when thou wenteſt after me in the Wilderneſſe, in a Land that was not ſowne.* It was ſomething to follow God in ſuch a Country forty years; and for ſo long a time to expoſe themſelves, wives, and children daily to almoſt all ſorts of deaths; and you ſee, God remembers it in after times; and if he did in *Jeremiahs* time, when thoſe who in perſon had been ſo faithfull, had been long dead; and that race of the *Jewes* then were very provoking, and corrupt; why not alſo now, in this preſent ſucceeding generation of them:

They were Martyrs for God. To prove this, read the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, and if we like not ſo farre to owne what is Apocryphall, turne to *Heb.* 11. which is a booke of the *Jewiſh* Martyrs, a Catalogue of them that ſuffered under *Antiochus*, and thoſe *Syrian* Tyrants. And they were not few that ſuffered, but many; nor light puniſhments, but unſpeakeable torments. Now God takes it ſo kindly that we give up our lives to torments, and to death for his Name, that commonly he owes that perſon a good turne in his poſterity. And if upon theſe accounts God hath an eye upon them, we alſo ſhould be like minded, and love them too.

Seventhly, It is a duty which we owe to Gods expreſſe command, for ſo I take that in the literall ſence, in *Iſa.* 62. 6, 7. *Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not ſilence, and give him no reſt, till he eſtabliſh, and till he make* Jeruſalem *a praiſe in the earth.* This duty the Prophet himſelfe performed in verſ. 1. *For* Sions *ſake I will not hold my peace, and for* Jeruſalems *ſake I will not reſt, till the righteouſneſſe thereof goe forth as brightneſſe, &c.* And alſo the Church in her affliction, *Pſal.* 137. 5, 6. And now that *Sion* is in the duſt, if we that beleeve among the *Gentiles*, did pitty her, and compaſſionate her in her ruines, it were an argument that God is about to ariſe, and have mercy upon her; as may be urged from Pſalme 102. 13, 14.

Laſtly, They minded our converſion to God. This appeares in the writings of almoſt all their Prophets, eſpecially in the Pſalmes, *Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Hoſeah, Malachi.* Now then for us to love the notion, and in what we may, help forward their returne, what

what is it but an honeſt and juſt retaliation?

Having diſpatched the Reaſons, two things yet remaine about their Converſion, which I muſt ſpeake ſomewhat to, and thoſe are the *Time*, and the *Manner*; as for the *time when*, the determining of that is hard, though not impoſsible. I beleeve that it is punctually ſet downe in Scripture, and God wil be as criticall in looking after times as things; but all the difficulty of knowing it is from the darkneſſe, and defects of our underſtanding, and not from a ſuppoſed uncertainty in the thing. So that I am equally adverſe as to the common practiſe of the *Jewes*, who becauſe they are unwilling to owne Gods accompliſhments, doe therefore diſ-allow his computations, and expreſly hold that man accurſed who buſieth himſelfe in that ſtudy. So to the too common opinion of thoſe who ſay, That oft in ſuch computations God puts a certaine number for an uncertaine. No, there is an infallibility in the ſet times of Scripture; only the Well is deep, and the cord to our Bucket is but ſhort! yet this difficulty ſhould not cauſe deſpondency, but quicken our induſtry. All that I ſhall now ſay to it is this, I judge the time not farre off; this preſent age will ſee thoſe things fulfilled which we have waited and prayed for. *R. Maimonides* ſaith of Jeſus Chriſt, That ſince *Moſes* his time none ſo like to the Meſsiah as the Chriſt of the Chriſtians; ſo I ſay, ſince Chriſt, no period of time ſo like to be that, in which the *Jewes* ſhall be called, as this in which we live. And perhaps it is nearer than we are aware of, being the more comfortably perſwaded of it, by that excellent Treatiſe called, *The Revelation revealed*, newly publiſhed by a Gentleman of an indefatigable Spirit for God and publick good, Mr. S. *Hartlib*, in which Apocalypticall computations are explained the moſt harmoniouſly, and clearly, that I have read in any diſcourſe of that nature. He ſaith poſitively, that at the ending of the laſt yeare of 1655. the ſeventh Trumpet ſhall ſound; whoſe effect will be as much good to Gods elected ones, whether *Jewes*, or *Gentiles*, as our hearts can wiſh for. I ſhall adde this, The age in which we live, hath been eyed by many Generations paſt, for the time wherein the *Iewes* ſhall be received to mercy; many of their owne Writers, and alſo of Chriſtian Authors have pitched upon it; And I beleeve that God will be as gracious to them in this their laſt, and greateſt reſtauration, as he was to them in that of their returne out of *Babylon*; now concerning that there were three computations and epochaes of the beginning (and conſequently of the ending) of the ſeventy yeares of cap-

captivity; and obſerve, that thoſe ſeventy yeares ended, and the *Iewes* returned, not at the lateſt computation, but with the firſt, for there were but ſeventy yeares from *Iechoniahs* carrying to *Babylon*, (which was the firſt Captivity) to the releaſe by the Proclamation of *Cyrus*. And as God ended that Captivity with the ſooneſt, ſo I hope that he will doe this; eſpecially conſidering, that ſpeaking of theſe mercies to them, in *Iſa.* 60. in verſe laſt, he ſaith, *I the Lord will haſten it in its time*; which he ſhould not doe, if he ſhould ſtay the longeſt calculation, and utmoſt period of time. O let us be Gods Remembrancers to put him in minde of this his promiſe.

For the *manner* how, and *meanes* whereby their converſion ſhall be compaſſed; this alſo is a depth equall to the former. And as it is in things Propheticall, the event will beſt determine it; yet I ſhall ſay ſomething to it, according to what I have attained. That of the ordinary way of Chriſtianizing a perſon, or people, ſeemes to me not of uſe here; which hath been by Diſcourſes, written or printed Books, Preachers, or the will and command of a Conquerour; for all theſe have had their efficacy in (at leaſt a ſeeming and out-ſide) converſion of many Nations. But after the application of theſe to the *Iewes*, for many ages together, yet we muſt ſay as *Gehazi* did to *Eliſha*, when he had laid his ſtaffe on the *Shunamite* her Son, thereby to bring him to life; *The childe is not awaked.* I then conclude, that their converſion ſhall be in an extraordinary way, it ſhall be the worke of our Lord Jeſus, and of his good Spirit. As *Paul* was turned by the appearing of Chriſt to him; ſo ſhall they. He will manifeſt himſelfe to them eminently, powerfully, and graciouſly, to forme them to be a people to himſelfe. Whether this his preſence to them ſhall be perſonall, or only in the Spirit, I will not now ſay, but leave the Reader to make a judgement, as he ſees moſt cauſe, out of the Scriptures which I bring. Conſider that of *Mat.* 23. 38, 39. *Behold your houſe is left unto you deſolate, for I ſay unto you, ye ſhall not ſee me hence-forth, till ye ſhall ſay, Bleſſed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.* Here you have their doome fore-told, *their houſe ſhall be deſolate*, the Temple and *Ieruſalem ſhall be deſtroyed*; alſo their converſion, in thoſe words, their ſaying, *Bleſſed is he that comes, &c.* the *medium* to compaſſe it, ſc. *their ſeeing Ieſus Chriſt*; *ye ſhall not ſee me*, &c. In the order of cauſes, Chriſts diſcovering himſelfe to them ſhall be firſt, and ſhall produce their relenting towards him. And for a further proofe, let thoſe two places be joyned toge-

together, as bearing the ſame ſence; that of *Mat.* 24. 30. 31. and of *Apoc.* 1. 7. both which are taken out of *Zechar.* 12. 10. And all three not to be underſtood of Chriſts appearing to Judgement; for here, ſaving repentance is the effect of his appearance; but repentance will be then too late when the Judge is come; that ſhall be a night to all ſinners, in which no worke can be done. Againe, there are but three grand periods mentioned in *Mat.* 24. namely, the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, Chriſts comming (when, and whereby the *Jewes* ſhall be converted, who though they have reſiſted him, when he came in the fleſh, yet they ſhall not, they cannot, when he comes in the Spirit) and the end of the World. Now the ſignes of the firſt of theſe are in verſ. 14, 15. 21, 22. Of the ſecond in verſ. 29, 30, 31, &c. And of the laſt, in verſ. 36, &c. So that this of ver. 30, 31. muſt concerne ſome other thing than the end of the World. And that the three fore-named Scriptures are properly to be underſtood of the *Jews*, the texts doe ſhow; for that of *Zechariah*, (from whence the other two places are taken) expreſly ſaith, *I will poure upon the houſe of* David, *and the inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *&c.* and other paſſages to the ſame purpoſe in verſ. 11, 12, 13. of *Zechar.* 12. And in the two places of *Mat.* 24. and *Apoc.* 1. it is expreſly applyed to the *Jewes*; for in *Mat.* it is, *All the Tribes of the earth ſhall mourn, and ſee him*; that is, All the twelve Tribes ſcattered upon the face of the whole earth, and theſe ſhall be gathered by the Angels from the foure winds. And that of *Apoc.* 1. 7. is clearly to be applyed alſo to them, for it is ſaid, *They that pierced him, ſhall ſee him*; that is, the *Jewes*; and *All the Tribes* (for ſo the word φυλαὶ ought to be rendred) *of the earth ſhall waile*; that is, the twelve Tribes ſcattered throughout all places. Now the *meane* whereby theſe *Jewes* ſhall be converted, is, *And they ſhall ſee him*; that is, Jeſus Chriſt, for thoſe words are in all the three Scriptures. It ſhall be ſuch a ſight, as the *Iſraelites* had of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderneſſe, it was healing to them. Such a ſight as *Paul* had of Chriſt in Heaven, upon which he ſaith, that he had ſeene the Lord. For particularities about this ſight. I ſhall leave them, knowing that *ſecret things doe belong to God.*

And becauſe after that I had publiſhed in *Engliſh*, about laſt Autumne, the Booke of *Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, called, *The Hope of Iſrael*, I received a Letter from an Honourable Perſon, concerning that Booke, to which I wrote an Anſwer, and both containe

ſome further diſcourſe about the *Jewes*, and their Converſion; therefore I thought good to give you them, and they are theſe which follow.

To the Tranſlator of *Menaſſeh; Ben Iſraels Spes Iſraelis.*

SIR:

I *Deſire to be acquainted with you, becauſe we have both fallen upon one Booke, with the ſame intentions to convert the* Jewes, *though we take not one way; I deſire therefore to conferre with you, to ſee who taketh the righteſt way. You by your Tranſlation ſeeme to me to prize the learned* Jewes *writing too much, which will beget pride, and not humility in him, without which he will not turne, repent, and be ſaved. Therefore for his good, and alſo for the Chriſtians, and for the credit of us who are Parliamentarians, I would not ſee them too much yeelded unto. You juſtly perſtringe him in his thirtieth Section, wherein he talkes ſo wildly of his goodly Martyrs, and truly if you marke him in his Diſcourſe upon the Sabatticall River, which where it is he knownes not, you will finde him as faulty and dangerous, if we have any of the race of the* Thraskytes *left among us; but Sir, in that you thinke that the* Jewes *ſhall now be called as a Nation, and not only by particulars, and would have them have an earthly Kingdome againe; you doe more for the ten Tribes then he would have himſelfe,* Sect. 25. p. 79. 80. *and for the other two, of* Judah, and Benjamin, *it is not ſo likely they ſhould have a ſecond Call, ſeeing that Chriſt and his Apoſtles preached to them, and all that were of the Election were then converted, as you may ſee by many texts, and after their rejection of the Goſpell, their Country-men,* Paul, *and* Peter *turned to the Gentiles. Therefore thoſe two Tribes who Crucified our Lord, and perſecuted his Apoſtles, are not ſo likely to be called againe as the ten Tribes who did neither, except ſome few who returned into the holy Land; neither did many of them ſo much as heare of it, you might ſee your owne ſentence fulfilled then. Firſt, the*

the Jew was called, and then the Gentile. But now looke not for it, but for their ſingle converſions, though numbers may be called upon one day, one Sermon as they were heretofore; but they muſt not exalt themſelves as a Nation, for they muſt be ingrafted againe upon that branch, or Vine, Chriſt Jeſus, and we muſt have one Shepheard, and be one flock. See Rom. 11. ver. 31. *which you cite.* Through your mercy they may alſo obtain mercy; *I had writ it* (ſhall) *but it is only* (may:) *ſee the place to which this relates,* Iſa. 59. v. 19, 20, 21. *where you ſhall finde that all their hope is in eternalls, not in temporalls; and looke upon* Rom. 11. 24. *concerning the engrafting, and clearly, (unleſſe you be a Millenarian) you will finde no ſuch Nationall glory of the* Jewes; *therefore I pray you take heed you fall not into the ſame ſnare wherein the* Jewes *are, to looke for a temporall reigne, which you ſeeme to intimate, and too many were, and are of that opinion. Aſſure your ſelfe that Chriſt will come to ſuch as a theife in the night, though his comming will be very glorious, yet it will be ſuddaine; the learned* Jew *can finde no text punctuall in all his Booke, but whatſoever he citeth, the ſame Chapter makes againſt him, and ſpeakes not of temporallity, but of eternity, and the new Jeruſalem. I reſt, deſirous of your friendſhip.*

Octob. 5. 1650. E. S.

Poſtſcript.

I Have it from a good hand, that Maſter Jo. Dury *is the Tranſlator of that Booke, and I have ſome Arguments to beleeve it to be ſo, becauſe he ſeemes to be of the ſame minde in his Epiſtolicall Diſcourſe before Mr:* Thorowgoods *pious Booke, which I have gained ſince I wrote this Letter. But truly if it be ſo, I muſt move Mr.* Dury *both to amend his Tranſlation from groſſe faults, and to make ſome retractions upon that Epiſtle, which upon conference I ſhall moſt plainely ſhew him, and in the meane time I deſire him, that he will read a Booke of a moſt reverend and pious man, called,* The Revelation unrevealed; *and thereby I beleeve he will be convinced, and not looke for a fifth generall Monarchy upon earth; for Chriſt reignes now, and hath ſo done ever ſince his Aſcenſion, and ſo ſhall to the end of the World, untill he deliver the Kingdome to the Father.*

Octob. 25. 1650.

SIR: The anſwer to the Letter.

I Received a Letter directed, *To the Tranſlator of Spes Iſraelis*, which worke thus corrected, as I here-with preſent to you, I confeſſe mine. I left it with a friend to ſee it printed, my ſelfe going into the Country; but his occaſions called him from the City alſo, when it ſhould have been reviewed; which is the reaſon that though there be many *Errata's* in the Booke, that they are not gathered up at the end. At my owne reading of it, I found many, and mended thoſe I found; and now I know that it hath farre fewer then it had, and may paſſe tollerably; though neither I, nor what I doe, can be ſaid faultleſſe. Concerning your deſire of converting the *Jewes*, it is truly Chriſtian, and a worke that ſhall not looſe its reward. But you ſay, We diſagree about the way, that is very poſſible, for apprehenſions are various, and men muſt thinke, not as others doe, but as themſelves can, taking what is truth to them, to be their guide. But the *quære* is, Who lights on the beſt way. For my part, I pretend not to any way to convert them, for I verily thinke that when it ſhall be done, it will be Gods worke, and not mans; as much as Pauls converſion was wholly of God; which himſelfe makes the type, or patterne of the converſion of his Country-men; as Mr. *Mede* ſaith upon 1 *Tim.* 1. 16. in his *Fragmenta ſacra*, which I know not whether they be in print, or no. You ſay, I prize the learned *Iewes* writing too much, and that it will beget pride in them) Sir, pardon me, if I doe not recant till I ſee my errour; but then I ſhall freely doe it. I confeſſe, I doe prize the Learned, whether *Iew*, or *Gentile*, for though I am not σοφὸς, yet I am φιλόσοφος and I doe beleeve the Author of *Spes Iſraelis* to be a very learned man; and I have it from thoſe who are acquainted with him, that he is a very ingenuous and civill man; and others there are, and have been among them, not wanting a name for good learning. As for the fomenting their pride) truly that vice is ſo evill, that I would not cheriſh it, neither in my ſelf, nor in others. But Sir, whether is a more likely way to gaine upon men, to uſe them civilly, and with the ſpirit of meekneſſe, or to be ſupercilious and tart towards them? What got *Auſtine* the Monke by uſing the Brittaines of *Bangor* ſo Lordly as he did? and (to come to latter dayes) did Mr. *Broughton* gaine upon a learned Rabbi, in a Conference at *Dort*, where Mr. *Forbes* was Moderator, by his high and peremptory language? This he reaped, to ſet the *Iew* at a greater diſtance from Chriſtianiſme, and an abating of his owne eſteeme, in the

the judgement of wiſe men. As for *Menaſſeh's* Sabbaticall river, I know many Authors have ſaid it, but whether true, or falſe, that is nothing to the Tranſlator; and I am as farre from beleeving that ſtory, as I am from the wilde opinions of Mr. *Thrask.* But theſe are of leſſe concernment; you fall upon the maine of your judgement which relates to them, and pardon me if I deale as roundly in my anſwer; for I deſire to have reſpect to Truth, and not to man. I doe firmly beleeve, and feare not to profeſſe it; That the *Jewes* ſhall be called as a Nation, both *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and ſhall returne to their owne Land, and have an earthly Kingdome againe. For the proofe of which, I could ſay much, but ſhall now but little; and if poſſibly I cite any thing which *Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael* brings for himſelfe, beleeve me that I have it not from him, but from my owne obſervations out of Scripture, ſome yeares ſince. There is weight in that place of *Mic.* 4. 8. *The firſt dominion, the Kingdome ſhall come to the daughter of Jeruſalem*; and this is ſpoken of times after Chriſts incarnation, and not yet performed. See that of *Zech.* 10. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. there is *Judah* and *Ephraim* fore-told to be brought to *Gilead*, and *Lebanon*, and they ſhall ſo encreaſe, that they ſhall want room. Say not this was done in the returne of thoſe few from the Captivity of *Babylon*; for thoſe of the ten Tribes that then returned, were but ſome gleanings of them; and of *Judah* it ſelfe, there returned but about one halfe: now God doth not promiſe Mountaines, and performe but Mole-hils; yea in verſ. 6. *God will ſave and ſtrengthen the houſe of* Judah, *and of* Joſeph, *and they ſhall be as though I had not caſt them off.* Which, if ſince that Propheſie, it hath been made good of *Judah*, yet be ſure not of *Joſeph.* And in v. 7. *They of* Ephraim *ſhall be like a mighty man,* but ſince the captivity of *Salmanaſſar* to this day, what might hath *Ephraim* ſhown? yea is he not poore, weak, ſcattered, and unknowne? And in ver. 8. *I will gather them, and they ſhall encreaſe as they have encreaſed*; hath this been fulfilled of *Ephraim?* Where is his fruitfulneſſe, which his name imports? much leſſe hath there been a time ſince their great captivity, in which they have encreaſed to their numbers and ſtrength, mentioned in the dayes of *Moſes, Joſhua, David, Solomon,* and under their owne Kings, after the defection from the houſe of *David.* See that noted place of *Ezek.* 37. 16, 17. 22. 24, 25. Sir, in good earneſt, hath this Scripture been fulfilled? hath *Judah* and *Ephraim* been *but one ſtick in Gods hand, but one Nation, ſo that they ſhall be no more two Na-*

tions, as in ver. 22. Surely to this day they have been from their laſt diſperſion not only two, but many Nations. Neither will it be an anſwer to ſay, That now they are no Nation, therefore they are not two; yes, Hiſtorians report them many Nations; though perhaps ſcarce after the juſt rules of Nations. And that phraſe hath not a negative, but a poſitive ſence, not that they ſhould be nothing, but that they ſhould be one Nation. More-over, in ver. 24. *Judah* and *Ephraim* were ſo to be one Nation, that *David* (that is Jeſus Chriſt) was to be King over them: And when did *Judah* and *Iſrael* ever to this day, as a Nation acknowledge the Soveraignty of Jeſus Chriſt? and he to be their Prince for ever, as in ver. 25. But I muſt not too much enlarge. I ſhall only adde this; That as many places of the Old, ſo many in the New Teſtament agree thereto, as *Rom.* 11. ver. 12. 15. 25, 26. 28. Though this of the *Romans,* chiefly proves one point, *ſc.* their generall or Nationall converſion. Give me leave briefly to anſwer your objections. You ſay, The call of *Judah* and *Benjamin* is not ſo likely, becauſe Chriſt and the Apoſtles preached to them already. I anſwer; that by their preaching, all of thoſe living, who were elected, were converted; but after-ages have a new race, and God hath his number among them too; yea the words run high, then *All Iſrael ſhall be ſaved.* You ſay, thoſe two Tribes who crucified Chriſt, not ſo likely to be converted. I anſwer, by how much their ſin is greater, by ſo much the greater will Gods mercy be; *Et Dei noviſſima erunt optima, & maxima.* You ſay, Their converſion ſhall be ſingle, that is anſwered already; but I adde, that *Iſaiah* is contrary to it, in *Iſa.* 66. 7, 8. which Chapter I doubt not but it points to times after our Saviour. As for their being engraffed upon the Vine Chriſt, or being brought to one ſheep-fold, what doth that hinder but that they may be a Nation of Converts brought to their owne Land? You object that of *Rom.* 11. 31. *That through your mercy they may obtaine mercy.* I anſwer, that I beleeve the maine of their converſion will be from Heaven, and extraordinary; though the *Gentiles* by provoking them to emulation, and alſo by their gifts and graces, may ſome way be auxiliary to them. After this you are pleaſed to put the term *Millenarian* upon me; which, though for what I have writ, I need not owne, yet I will not diſclaime; they are not Names that affright me, but reall falſities. The term *Chiliaſt,* as it congregates the many odde, and falſe opinions of them of old, I explode; though to beleeve thoſe thouſand yeares in *Apoc.* 20. to be yet unfulfilled, that, I willingly owne. To put

put that ſenſe upon them, as that they imply the thouſand yeares of eternity, I can thinke little leſſe of it then to be a contradiction. Againe, if the thouſand yeares be the eternity in Heaven, what meanes that in ver. 3. *Till the thouſand yeares be fulfilled, and after that he muſt be looſed for a little ſeaſon*; I pray, what little ſeaſon is that that is after eternity? neither doth Chriſts *comming ſuddenly in the night as a theife*, hinder, but that when he doth come, he may ſtay a thouſand yeares. But whether that time be *ante, in*, or *poſt diem judicii*, is not my taske to determine, or maintaine. As for what you adde in the Poſt-ſcript, not to looke for a fifth Monarchy, becauſe Chriſt reignes now. I anſwer, that though he reignes *de jure*, yet not *de facto*; for expreſly in Scripture the Devill is called κοσμοκράτωρ he is the grand Tyrant, and great Uſurper, and the whole world κεῖται ἐν πὸ πονηρῶ yet I am farre from denying to Chriſt a Kingdome now in being, *ſc.* Spirituall, and Inviſible, but I looke for a viſible one to come. In the cloſe (as alſo at the beginning) you are pleaſed to deſire my acquaintance; but Sir, I look not upon my ſelf as a Star of ſo conſiderable a magnitude, as to preſent my ſelfe to your eyes; but if I might be ſo happy as to be capable to ſerve you really, none ſhould be more deſirous of it (both as you are a Gentleman of Learning, by which you have obliged the publick; and alſo a Member of that Houſe which I ſo much honour) than Sir,

Novemb. 5. 1650. *Your moſt humble Servant*
M. W.

SIR:

I *Doe now very highly eſteeme of my intereſt in your converſation, and thanke you very much for your kinde viſitations, which I ſhal endeavour to repay, and deſire by theſe you will tell me where, if you be in town; I ſhall continue in town till monday noone be paſſed, and will meet you at the Stationers, or any where elſe you ſhall appoint; very neceſſary, and too urgent occaſions hindred my comming to — untill laſt night. I have ſomewhat thought with my ſelf of the faire propoſition of re-printing what concernes* Ben Iſrael, *the converſion and generall call of the Jewiſh Nation, to which I now more perceive our ſerious endeavours and hopes doe encline. But I muſt needs ſay, that* Ben Iſraels *Booke gives very ſmall hopes of his converſion; Of which notwithſtanding neither you nor my ſelfe ought to*

to deſpaire, for Saul *the learned* Jew *from a ſevere Perſecutor became a* Paul, *a holy and remarkable Saint; I ſhall not at preſent enlarge my ſelfe unto you, leaſt I ſhould prove troubleſome, or impertinent till things be ripened between us by a conference, but if it be neceſſary you ſhould print againe before I ſee you, I only deſire this Letter of mine ſhould be printed. For I embrace your candor and ingenuity as much as you doe mine, and I hope love and knowledge will ſtill encreaſe between us, and I ſhall ſay with the Pſalmiſt,* Let the righteous ſmite me friendly, and reprove me, but let not their precious balme breake my head; *I have no deſire to gaine applauſe of thoſe who are without, or hazard their cenſure in that which more learned men, but not ſo loving, may ſay, that I write ſlight things, but I had rather firſt ſhew them that I can write ſerious things as well as ſlight, by tranſlation of ſome part of* Peter Galatine & Reuchlin, *which is now my travaile, as I in part ſhewed you; I remaine,*

Febr. 21. 1650. Your friend in the trueſt intereſt of Chriſtian love.

FINIS.

Errata maximi momenti.

IN the ſecond Epiſt. p. 2. l. 8. dele happy, in the 3 Epiſt. p. 1. l. 28. r. invironed, p. 2. l. 3. r. Carthagena, p. 3. l. 12. dele ſo, p. 6, l. 21. r. thy, p. 18. l. 19. r. hating, p. 19. l. 16. r. away Hoſhea, p. 22. l. 23. r. Hunni, p. 23. l. 10. r. there, p. 26. l. 3. r. were, p. 40. l. 27. r. honoured *Abraham Kolorni*, with p. 44. l. 24. r. for theſe, p. 46. l. 16. dele the, p. 49. l. 34. & he ſaith, thoſe muſt be nulled before.

TO

HIS HIGHNESSE

THE

LORD PROTECTOR

OF THE

COMMON-WEALTH OF
England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

THE

HUMBLE ADDRESSES

OF

MENASSEH Ben Iſrael, *a Divine, and Doctor of PHYSICK, in behalfe of the Jewiſh Nation.*

TO
His Highneſſe the Lord PROTECTOR OF THE Common-wealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND.

The Humble Addreſſes of Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael, *a Divine and Doctor of Phyſick, in behalf of the Iewiſh Nation.*

GIve me leave, at ſuch a juncture of time, to ſpeak to your Highneſſe, in a ſtyle and manner fitting to us *Jewes* and our condition. It is a thing moſt certaine, that the great God of *Iſrael*, Creator of Heaven and Earth, doth give and take away Dominions and Empires, according to his owne pleaſure; exalting ſome, and overthrowing others: who, ſeeing he hath the hearts of Kings in his hand, he eaſily moves them whitherſoever himſelfe pleaſeth, to put in execution his Divine Commands. This, my Lord, appeares moſt evidently out of thoſe words of *Daniel*, where he, rendring thanks unto God, for revealing unto him that prodigious Dreame of *Nebuchadnezar*, doth ſay: *Thou that removeſt Kings, and ſets up Kings.* And elſe-where, *To the end the living might know, that the Higheſt hath dominion in Mans Kingdome, and giveth the ſame to whom he pleaſe.* Of the very ſame-minde are the *Thalmudiſts* likewiſe, affirming that a good Government, or Governor, is a Heavenly Gift, and that there is no Governor, but is firſt called by God unto that dignity: and this they prove from that paſſage of *Exodus: Behold I have called Bazale'l by name*, &c. all things being governed by Divine Providence, God diſpenſing rewards unto Vertues, and puniſhment unto Vices, according to his owne

good Will. This the Examples of great Monarchs make good; eſpecially of ſuch, who have afflicted the people of *Iſrael:* For none hath ever afflicted them, who hath not been by ſome ominous *Exit*, moſt heavily puniſhed of God Almighty; as is manifeſt from the Hiſtories of thoſe Kings, *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezar*, *Antiochus*, *Epiphanius*, *Pompey*, and others. And on the contrary, none ever was a Benefactor to that people, and cheriſhed them in their Countries, who thereupon hath not preſently begun very much to flouriſh. In ſo much that the Oracle to *Abraham* (*I will bleſſe them that bleſſe thee, and curſe them that curſe thee*) ſeemeth yet daily to have its accompliſhment. Hence I, one of the leaſt among the *Hebrews*, ſince by experience I have found, that through Gods great bounty toward us, many conſiderable and eminent perſons both for Piety and Power, are moved with ſincere and inward pitty and compaſſion towards us, and do comfort us concerning the approaching deliverance of *Iſrael*, could not but for my ſelf, and in the behalf of my Countrey men, make this my humble addreſſe to your Highneſs, and beſeech you for Gods ſake, that ye would, according to that Piety and Power wherein you are eminent beyond others, vouchſafe to grant, that the Great and Glorious Name of the Lord our God may be extolled, and ſolemnly worſhiped and praiſed by us through all the bounds of this Common-wealth; and to grant us place in your Countrey, that we may have our Synagogues, and free exerciſe of our Religion. I nothing doubting, but that your Clemency will eaſily grant this moſt equitable Petition of ours. Pagans have of old, out of reverence to the God of *Iſrael;* & the eſteem they had to his people, granted moſt willingly free liberty, even to apoſtated *Jewes;* as *Onias* the High Prieſt, to build another Temple in their Countrey, like unto that at *Jeruſalem:* how much more then may we, that are not Apoſtate or runagate *Iewes*, hope it from your Highneſſe

Highneſſe and your Chriſtian Councill, ſince you have ſo great knowledge of, and adore the ſame one onely God of *Iſrael*, together with us. Beſides, it increaſes our confidence of your bounty towards us, in that ſo ſoon as ever the rumour of that moſt wiſhed-for liberty, that ye were a thinking to grant us, was made known unto our Countrey-men; I, in the name of my Nation, the *Iewes*, that live in *Holland*, did congratulate and entertaine their Excellencies, the Ambaſſadors of *England;* who were received in our Synagogue with as great pomp and applauſe, Hymns and cheerfulneſſe of minde, as ever any Soveraigne Prince was. For our people did in their owne mindes preſage, that the Kingly Government being now changed into that of a Common-wealth, the antient hatred towards them, would alſo be changed into good-will: that thoſe rigorous Laws (if any there be yet extant, made under the Kings) againſt ſo innocent a people, would happily be repealed. So that we hope now for better from your gentleneſs, & goodneſs, ſince, from the beginning of your Government of this Common-wealth, your Highneſſe hath profeſſed much reſpect, and favour towards us. Wherefore I humbly entreat your Highneſſe, that you would with a gracious eye have regard unto us, and our Petition, and grant unto us, as you have done unto others, free exerciſe of our Religion, that we may have our Synagogues, and keep our own publick worſhip, as our brethren doe in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*, and many other places, and we ſhall pray for the happineſſe and Peace of this your much renowned and puiſſant Common-wealth.

A DECLARATION

TO THE

Common-wealth of England,

BY

Rabbi Menaſſeh Ben Israel, ſhewing the Motives of his coming into England.

Having ſome yeares ſince often perceived that in this Nation, God hath a People, that is very tender-hearted, and well-wiſhing to our ſore-afflicted Nation; Yea, I my ſelfe having ſome Experience thereof, in divers Eminent perſons, excelling both in Piety and Learning: I thought with my-ſelf, I ſhould do no ſmall ſervice to my owne Nation, as alſo to the People and Inhabitants of this Common-wealth, if by humble addreſſes to the late Honourable Parliament, I might obtaine a ſafe-Conduct once to tranſport my ſelfe thither. Which I having done, and according to my deſire, received a moſt kinde and ſatisfactory Anſwer, I now am come. And to the end all Men may know the true Motives and Intent of this my coming, I ſhall briefly comprehend and deliver them in theſe particulars.

Firſt and formoſt, *my Intention is to try, if by Gods good hand over me, I may obtaine here for my Nation the Liberty of a free and publick Synagogue, wherein we may daily call upon the Lord our God, that once he may be pleaſed to remember his Mercies and Promiſes done to our Fore fathers, forgiving*

forgiving our treſpaſſes, and reſtoring us once againe into our fathers Inheritance; and beſides to ſue alſo for a bleſſing upon this Nation, and People of England, *for receiving us into their boſomes, and comforting* Sion *in her diſtreſſe.*

My ſecond *Motive is, becauſe the opinion of many Chriſtians and mine doe concurre herein, that we both believe that the reſtoring time of our Nation into their Native Countrey, is very neer at hand; I believing more particularly, that this reſtauration cannot be, before theſe words of* Daniel, Chap. 12. ver. 7. *be firſt accompliſhed, when he ſaith,* And when the diſperſion of the Holy people ſhall be compleated in all places, then ſhall all theſe things be compleated: *ſignifying therewith, that before all be fulfilled, the People of God muſt be firſt diſperſed into all places & Countreyes of the World. Now we know, how our Nation at the preſent is ſpread all about, and hath its ſeat and dwelling in the moſt flouriſhing parts of all the Kingdomes, and Countreys of the World, as well in* America, *as in the other three parts thereof; except onely in this conſiderable and mighty Iſland. And therefore this remains onely in my judgement, before the* Messia *come and reſtore our Nation, that firſt we muſt have our ſeat here likewiſe.*

My third *Motive is grounded on the profit that I conceive this Common wealth is to reap, if it ſhall vouchſafe to receive us; for thence, I hope, there will follow a great bleſſing from God upon them, and a very abundant trading into, and from all parts of the World, not onely without prejudice to the Engliſh Nation, but for their profit, both in Importation, and Exportation of goods. Yet if any ſhall doubt hereof, I truſt their Charity towards the people of God, will ſatisfie them, eſpecially when they ſhall reade the enſuing Treatiſe.*

The fourth *Motive of my coming hither, is, my ſincere affection to this Common wealth, by reaſon of ſo many Worthy, Learned, and Pious men in this Nation, whoſe loving kindneſſe and Piety I have experience of: hoping to finde the like affection*

affection in all the People generally; the more, becauſe I alwayes have, both by writing and deeds, profeſſed much inclination to this Common-wealth; and that I perſwade my ſelfe they will be mindfull of that Command of the Lord our God, who ſo highly recommends unto all men the love of ſtrangers; *much more to thoſe that profeſſe their good affection to them. For this I deſire all may be confident of, that I am not come to make any diſturbance, or to move any diſputes about matters of Religion; but onely to live with my Nation in the feare of the Lord, under the ſhadow of your prctection, whiles we expect with you* the hope of Iſrael *to be revealed.*

How Profitable

The Nation of the Iewes are.

THree things, if it pleaſe your Highneſſe, there are that make a ſtrange *Nation* wel-beloved amongſt the Natives of a land where they dwell: (as the defect of thoſe *three* things make them hatefull.) viz. *Profit*, they may receive from them; *Fidelity* they hold towards their Princes; and the *Noblenes* and purity of their blood. Now when I ſhall have made good, that all *theſe three* things are found in the *Iewiſh Nation*, I ſhall certainly perſuade your Highneſſe, that with a favorable eye, (Monarchy being changed into a Republicq) you ſhall be pleaſed to receive again the Nation of the Iews, who in time paſt lived in that Iſland: but, I know not by what falſe Informations, were cruelly handled and baniſhed.

Profit is a moſt powerfull motive, and which all the World preferres before all other things: and therefore we ſhall handle that point firſt.

It is a thing confirmed, that merchandizing is, as it were, the proper profeſſion of the Nation of the Iews. I attribute this in the firſt place, to the particular Providence and mercy of God towards his people: for having baniſhed them from their own Country, yet not from his Protection, he hath given them, as it were, a naturall inſtinct, by which they might not onely gain what was neceſſary for their need, but that they ſhould alſo thrive in Riches and poſſeſſions; whereby they ſhould not onely become gracious to their Princes and Lords, but that they ſhould be invited by others to come and dwell in their Lands.

Moreover, it cannot be denyed, but that neceſſity ſtirrs up a mans ability and induſtry; and that it gives him great incitement, by all means to trie the favour of Providence.

Beſides, ſeeing it is no wiſedome for them to endeavour the gaining of Lands and other immovable goods, and ſo to impriſon their poſſeſſions here, where their perſons are ſubject to ſo many caſualities, baniſhments and peregrinations; they are forced to uſe marchandizing untill that time, when they ſhall returne to their own Country, that then as God hath promiſed by the Prophet Zachary, *Their ſhall be found no more any marchant amongſt them in the Houſe of the Lord.*

From that very thing we have ſaid, there riſeth an infallible Profit, commodity and gain to all thoſe Princes in whoſe Lands they dwell above all other ſtrange Nations whatſoever, as experience by divers *Reaſons* doth confirme.

I. The Iews, have no oportunity to live in their own Country, to till the Lands or other like employments, give themſelves wholy unto merchandizing, and for contriving new Inventions, no Nation almoſt going beyond them. And ſo 't is obſerved, that whereſoever they go to dwell, there preſently the Traficq begins to floriſh. Which may be ſeen in divers places, eſpecially in Ligorne, which having been but a very ignoble and inconſiderable City, is at this time, by the great concourſe of people, one of the moſt famous places of Trafique of whole Italy.

Furthermore, the Inventor of the famous *Scala de Spalatro* (the moſt firme and ſolid Traficq of Venice) was a Iew, who by this his Invention tranſported the Negotiation from a great part of the Levant into that City.

Even that very fame is ſeene likewiſe at this day in Nizza and in other innumerable places more, both in Europe and Aſia.

II. The Nation of the Iews is diſperſed throughout the whole World, it being a chaſtiſement that God hath layd upon them for their Idolatries, Deut. 28,69. Ezech. 20,23. Nehem. 1,8. Pſ. 107,27. and by other their ſinnes their families ſuffer the ſame ſhipwrack.

Now in this diſperſion our Fore-fathers flying from the Spaniſh Inquiſition, ſome of them came in Holland, others got into Italy, and others betooke themſelves into Aſia; and ſo eaſily they credit

dit one another; and by that meanes they draw the Negotiation where-ever they are, where with all of them marchandiſing and having perfect knowledge of all the kinds of Moneys, Diamants, Cochinil, Indigo, Wines, Oyle, and other Commodities, that ſerve from place to place; eſpecially holding correſpondence with their friends and kinds-folk, whoſe language they underſtand; they do abundantly enrich the Lands and Countrys of ſtrangers, where they live, not onely with what is requiſite and neceſſary for the life of man; but alſo what may ſerve for ornament to his civill condition. Of which *Traficq*, there ariſeth ordinarily *Five* important benefits.

1. The augmentation of the Publiq Tolls and Cuſtomes, at their coming and going out of the place.

2. The tranſporting and bringing in of marchandiſes from remote Countries.

3. The affording of Materials in great plenty for all Mechaniqs; as Wooll, Leather, Wines; Jewels, as Diamants, Pearles, and ſuch like Merchandize.

4. The venting and exportation of ſo many kinds of Manifactures.

5. The Commerce and reciprocall Negotiation at Sea, which is the ground of Peace between neighbour Nations, and of great profit to their own Fellow-cittizens.

III. This reaſon is the more ſtrengthened, when we ſee, that not onely the Iewiſh Nation dwelling in Holland and Italy, trafficqs with their own ſtock, but alſo with the riches of many others of their own Nation, friends, kinds-men and acquaintance, which notwithſtanding live in Spaine, and ſend unto them their moneys and goods, which they hold in their hands, and content themſelves with a very ſmall portion of their eſtate, to the end they may be ſecure and free from danger that might happen unto them, in caſe they ſhould fall under the yoke of the Inquiſition; whence not onely their goods, but oftentimes alſo their lives are endangered.

IV. The love that men ordinarily beare to their own Country

and the deſire they have to end their lives, where they had their begining, is the cauſe, that moſt ſtrangers having gotten riches where they are in a forain land, are commonly taken in a deſire to returne to their native ſoil, and there peaceably to enjoy their eſtate; ſo that as they were a help to the places where they lived, and negotiated while they remained there; ſo when they depart from thence, they carry all away, and ſpoile them of their wealth: tranſporting all into their own native Country: But with the Iews the caſe is farre different; for where the Iews are once kindly receaved, they make a firm reſolution never to depart from thence, ſeeing they have no proper place of their own: and ſo they are alwayes with their goods in the Cities where they live, a perpetuall benefit to all payments. Which reaſons do clearly proove, that it being the property of Cittizens in populous and rich countries, to ſeeke their reſt and eaſe with buying lands and faire poſſeſſion of which they live; many of them hating commerce, aſpire to Titles and Dignities: therefore of all ſtrangers, in whoſe hands ordinarily Trafique is found, there are none ſo profitable and beneficiall to the place where they trade and live, as is the Nation of the Iews. And ſeeing amongſt the people of Europ, the chiefeſt riches they poſſeſſe, ſom from Spain, thoſe neighbour Nations, where the Iews ſhall finde liberty to live according to their own Iudaicall Laws, they ſhall moſt eaſily draw that benefit to themſelves by means of the induſtry of our Nation, and their mutuall correſpondance.

From hence (if it pleaſe your Highnes) it reſults, that the Iewiſh Nation, though ſcattered through the whole World, are not therefore a deſpiſable people, but as a Plant worthy to be planted in the whole world, and received into Populous Cities: who ought to plant them in thoſe places, which are moſt ſecure from danger; being trees of moſt ſavory fruit and profit, to be alwayes moſt favoured with Laws and Priviledges, or Prerogatives, ſecured and defended by Armes. An Example of this we have in our times. His Majeſty, the Illuſtrious King of Denmark, invited them with ſpeciall Priviledges into Geluckſtadt: the Duke of Savoy into Niſa of Pro-

Provence; and the Duke of Modina in Retio, allowing them ſuch conditions and benefices, as like never were preſented unto them by any other Prince, as appeareth by the copy of thoſe Priviledges, which I have in my hands. But ſuppoſing it would be a matter of too large extention, if I ſhould make a relation of all the places under whoſe Princes the Iews live, I will onely ſpeake briefly of the two Tribes Iudah and Benjamin. Theſe in India in Cochin have 4 Synagogues, one part of theſe Iews being there of a white colour, and three of a tawny; theſe being moſt favoured by the King. In the year 1640. dyed Samuel Caſtoel, Governour of the City, and Agent for the King, and David Caſtoel his ſonne ſucceeded in his place. In Perſia there is a great number of Iews, and they live indifferent freely: there are alſo amongſt them that are in favour and great reſpect by the King, and who live there very bravely. Some years paſt, there was Elhazar Huza, the Viceroy, and now there is David Ian; if yet he be living. In the year 1636. the Saltan Amarat took in Bagdad, and puting all to the ſword, he commanded that they ſhould not touch the Iews, nor their houſes, and beſides that, he freed them from one half of the tribuit they were wont to pay to the Perſian.

But the chiefeſt place where the Iews life, is the Turkiſh Empire, where ſome of them live in great eſtate, even in the Court of the Grand Turke at Conſtantinople, by reaſon there is no Viceroy, or Governour, or Baſſa, which hath not a Iew to manage his affaires, and to take care for his eſtate: Hence it cometh that in ſhort time they grow up to be Lords of great revenues, and they moſt frequently bend the minds of Great ones to moſt weighty affaires in government.

The greateſt Viceroy of whole Europe is the Baſſa of Egypt; this Baſſa always takes to him, by order of the Kingdome, a Iew with the title of Zaraf-Baſſa (*Threſurer*) viz. of all the Revenues of that government, who receaves purſes full of money, ſeals them, and then ſends them to the King. This man in a ſhort time grows very rich, for that by his hands as being next to the Baſſa, the 24 Gover-

vernments of that Empire are ſould and given, and all other buſineſſes managed. At preſent he that poſſeſſeth this place, is called S^r. Abraham Alhula. The number of the Iews living in this Kingdome of the Great Turke, is very great, and amounts to many Millions. In Conſtantinople alone there are 48 Synagogues, and in Salaminque 36, and more then foureſcore thouſand ſoules in theſe two Cities alone.

The firſt King gave them great priviledges which they enjoy untill this day: for beſides the liberty, they have every-where, of trading with open ſhops, of bearing any Office and poſſeſſing of any goods, both mooveable and immooveable, he yet graunted them power to judge all Civill cauſes according to their own Laws amongſt themſelves. Moreover they are exempted from going to Warres, and that ſouldiers ſhould be quartered in their houſes, and that Juſtice ſhould take no place upon the death of any one that left no heir to his Eſtate.

In all which they are preferred before the naturall Turks themſelves. For which cauſe they pay in ſome Cittys to the King three Patacons, and in others two and a half by the pole.

In this eſtate ſome of the Iews have grown to great fortunes; as Joſeph Naſino, unto whom Amatus Luſitanus dedicated his fifth and ſixth Centuriæ, was by Sultan Solime made Duke of Maccia, Earle of Andro, Seignor of Millo, and the ſeaven Iſlands: And Jacob Ben-Iaes by Sultan Amurat, was made Governour of the Tiberiades: ſo likewiſe others were exalted to very great and Eminent Dignities: as was that Selomo Roſe, that was ſent for Ambaſſador at Venice, where he confirmed the laſt Peace with Amurat. In Germany, there lives alſo a great multitude of Jews, eſpecially at Prague, Vienna and Franckfurt, very much favoured by the moſt mild and moſt gracious Emperours, but deſpiſed of the people, being a Nation not very finely garniſhed by reaſon of their vile cloathing: yet notwithſtanding there is not wanting amongſt them perſons of great quality. The Emperour Matthias made Noble both Mardochai Mairel, and Ferdinando Jacob Bar Seba.

But

But yet a greater number of Iews are found in the Kingdome of Poland, Pruſſia and Lethuania, under which Monarchy they have the Juriſdiction to judge amongſt themſelves all cauſes, both Criminal and Civil; and alſo great and famous Academies of their own. The chief Cities where the Nation liveth, are Lublin and Cracow, where there is a Iew, called Iſaac Iecells, who built a Synagogue, which ſtood him in one hundred thouſand Francs, and is worth many tons of gold. There is in this place ſuch infinite number of Iews; that although the Coſaques in the late warres have killed of them above one hundred and foureſcore thouſand; yet it is ſuſtained that they are yet at this day as innumerable as thoſe were that came out of Egypt. In that Kingdome the whole Negotiation is in the hand of the Iews, the reſt of the Chriſtians are either all Noble-men, or Ruſtiques and kept as ſlaves.

In Italy they are generally protected by all the Princes: their principall reſidence is in the moſt famous City of Venice; ſo that in that ſame City alone they poſſeſſe about 1400 Houſes; and are uſed there with much courteſy and clemency. Many alſo live in Padoa and Verona; others in Mantua, and alſo many in Rome it ſelf. Finally they are ſcattered here and there in the chief places of Italy, and do live there with many ſpeciall priviledges.

In the Government of the great Duke of Tuſcany, they are by that Prince moſt graciouſly & bountifully dealt with, having power from him graunted, to have their Judicatory by themſelves, and to judge in all matters, both Civill and Criminall; beſides many other Priviledges, whereof I my ſelf have the Copies in hand. The rich and illuſtrious families that flouriſhed in theſe Countries are many, viz. The Thoraces, who being three Brethren, ſhared betwixt them above 700 thouſand Crowns. In Ferrara were the Viles, whoſe ſtock was above 200 thouſand Crowns. The Lord Joſeph de Fano, Marquis de Villependi, was a man much reſpected of all the Princes in Italy, and was called by them, The Peace-maker and appeaſer of all troubles; becauſe he, by his authority and entremiſe, was uſed to appeaſe all troubles and ſtriſe riſing amongſt them.

Don

Don Daniel Rodrigues, becauſe of his prudency and other good qualities, was ſent in the year 1589 from the moſt Excellent Senat of Venice into Dalmatia, to appeaſe thoſe tumults and ſcandals given by the Vſquoquibs in Cliſſa: which he moſt manly effected, and cauſed all the women and children, that were kept cloſe priſoners, to be ſet at liberty, brought alſo to an happy iſſue many other things of great moment, for which he was ſent. Alphonſo II. the Duke of Ferrara, ſent alſo for his Ambaſſador to the Imperiall Majeſty, one Abraham de Bondi, to pay and diſcharge Inveſtiture of the States of Modena and Reggio. The Prince of Saſol and the Marquis of Scandia likewiſe, had to their Factors men of our Nation.

In the Kingdome of Barbary, their lives alſo a great number of Iews, who-ever cruelly and baſely uſed by that Barbarous Nation, except at Marrocco, the Court and Kings houſe, where they have their Naguid or Prince that governs them, and is their Iudge, and is called at this day, Seignor Moſeh Palache: and before him was in the ſame Court, that Noble family Ruthes, that had power and Iuriſdiction of all kinde of puniſhment, onely life and death excepted.

In the Low-Countries alſo, the Iews are received with great Charity and Benevolency, and eſpecially in this moſt renowned City of Amſterdam, where there are no leſſe then 400 Families; and how great a trading and Negotiation they draw to that City, experience doth ſufficiently witneſs. They have there no leſſe then three hundred houſes of their own, enjoy a good part of the Weſt and Eaſt-Indian Compagnies; and beſides have yet to ſet forth their Trafiq ſuch a ſtock. that for ſetting a ſide, onely one duit of every pound Flemiſh for all kind of commodities that enter, and again as much for all what goes out of this town, and what beſides we pay yearly of the rents we get from the Eaſt-Indian Compagnie to the reliefe and ſuſtenance of the poore of our Synagogue, that very money amounts ordinarily every year, unto the ſumme very neare of 12000 Franks; whereby you may eaſely conceive what a mighty

ty ſtock it is they trade with, and what a profit they needs muſt bring into this City.

In Hambourg likewiſe, a moſt famous City of Holſace in Germany, there lives alſo a hundred families, protected by the Magiſtrat, though moleſted by the people. There reſides Sir Duarte Nunes d'Acoſta, Reſident for his Majeſty the King of Portugal: Gabriel Gomes, Agent for his Majeſty the King of Danemarck: David de Lima, a Ieweller, for the ſame his Majeſty; and Emanuel Boccaro Roſales, created by the Emperour a Noble-man and a Count Palatin.

In all theſe places the Iews live (in a manner) all of them Merchants, and that without any prejudice at all to the Natives: For the Natives, and thoſe eſpecially that are moſt rich, they build themſelves houſes and Palaces, buy Lands and firme goods, aime at Titles and Dignities, and ſo ſeek their reſt and contentment that way: But as for the Iews, they aſpire at nothing, but to preferre themſelves in their way of Marchandize; and ſo employing their *Capitals*, they ſend forth the benefit of their labour amongſt many and ſundry of the Natives, which they, by the trafick of their Negotiation, do enrich. From whence it's eaſy to judge of the profit that Princes and Common-wealths do reap, by giving liberty of Religion to the Iews, and gathering them by ſome ſpeciall priviledges into their Countries: as Trees that bring forth ſuch excellent fruits.

So that if one Prince, ill adviſed, driveth them out of his Land, yet another invites them to his; & ſhews them favour: Wherein we may ſee the prophecy of Iacob fulfilled in the letter: *The ſtaffe* (*to ſupport him*) *ſhall not depart from Iacob, untill Meſſias ſhall come.* And this ſhall ſuffice concerning the Profit of the Iewiſh Nation.

How Faithfull

The Nation of the Iewes are.

THe Fidelity of Vaſſals and Subjects, is a thing that Princes moſt eſteem off: for there-on, both in Peace and Warre, depends the preſervation of their eſtates. And as for this point, in my opinion, they owe much to the Nation of the Iews, by reaſon of the faithfulneſſe and loyalty they ſhow to all Potentates that receive and protect them in their Countries. For ſetting aſide the Hiſtories of the Ptolomies, Kings of Egypt, who did not truſt the Guard of their perſons, nor the keeping of their Forts, nor the moſt important affairs of their Kingdome to any other Nation with greater ſatisfaction then to the Iews; the Wounds of Antipater ſhewed to Iulius Cæſar in token of his loyalty, and the braſen Tables of our Anceſtours amongſt the Romans, are evident witneſſes enough of their fidelity ſhewed unto them.

In Spaine the Iews of Burgos; as the Chronicles do declare, moſt generouſly ſhewed the very ſame fidelity in the times of Don Henrique; who having killed his Brother, the King, Don Pedro de Cruel, made himſelf Lord of all his Kingdomes, and brought under his obedience all the Grandees and people of Spaine: Only the Iews of Burgos denyed to obey him, and fortified themſelves within the City, ſaying, *That God would never have it, that they ſhould deny obedience to their Naturall Lord Don Pedro, or to his right full ſucceſſours.* A conſtancy that the prudent King, Don Henriques, very much eſteemed of, ſaying, that ſuch Vaſſals as thoſe were, by Kings and great men, worthy of much account, ſeeing they held greater reſpect to the fidelity *they ought to their King, although conquered and dead, than to the preſent fortune of the Conquerour:* And a while after, receiving very *honourable conditions, they gave themſelves over.*

In Spain alſo (as you may ſee in Mariana) many Iewes for the ſame fidelity were appointed Governours of the Kingdome, and Tutors

tors of Noble-mens children, jointly to others of the Nobility upon the death of their Parents.

The Chronicles of the Xarifes, dedicated to King Philip the ſecond, King of Spaine, alleagues for an example of great fidelity and vertue, how the riſing of the Xarifes againſt the Morines, their killing and ſpoyling them of the Kingdome, was ſuch a great grief unto Samuel Alvalenſi, one of thoſe baniſhed out of Spaine, and much favoured by the King of Fez, deſcended from the houſe of the Morines; that joyning himſelf with other Magiſtrates, and ſubjects of the Morines, arming ſome ſhips and going himſelf Captain over all, he came ſuddenly with 400. men, and fell by night upon the Army of the Xarifes, that were more then 3000. men, beſieging Copta, and without loſing one man, killed of them above 500. and cauſed them to raiſe the ſiege.

Many the like Examples may be brought of times paſt; but for our preſent; and modern times there is no Exemple ſo evident, as in the beſieging of Mantua for the Emperour in the year 1630, where the Iews fought moſt valiantly, and reſcued it from the Natives. As likewiſe in the Seignory of Braſil, where the ſame thing was done: for one of the ſame Nation, a Dutchman, having delivered the Cape unto the Portugals, there was found in our Nation there not only loyalty, but alſo ſuch diſcretion, that had they taken their adviſe, the buſineſs had not ſo proceeded.

This may be ſeen more clearly yet in their being baniſhed out of Caſtile, in the dayes of Ferdinand & Iſabella. Their number at that time was ſuppoſed to have been half a Milion of men, amongſt whom were many of great valour, & courage (as Don Iſaac Abarbanel, a Counſellor of State, doth relate) & yet amongſt ſo great a number, there was not found any one man, that undertook to raiſe a party to free themſelves from that moſt miſerable baniſhment. An evident ſign of the proper and naturall reſolution of this Nation, and their conſtant obedience to their Princes.

The ſame affection is confirmed by the inviolable cuſtome of all the Iews whereſoever they live: for on every Sabbath or feſti-

vall Day, they every where are uſed to pray for the ſafety of all Kings, Princes and Common-wealths, under whoſe juriſdiction they live, of what profeſſion-ſoever: unto which duty they are bound by the Prophets and the Talmudiſts; from the Law, as by Ieremie chap. 29. verſ. 7. *Seek the peace of the City unto which I have made you to wander: and pray for her unto the Lord, for in her Peace you ſhall enjoy peace.* He ſpeaks of Babylon, where the Iews at that time were captives. From the Talmud ord. 4. tract. 4. Abodazara pereq. 1. *Pray for the peace of the Kingdome, for unleſſe there were feare of the Kingdome, men would ſwallow one the other alive,* &c.

From the continuall and never broken Cuſtome of the Iews whereſoever they are, on the Sabbath-Day, or other ſolemn Feaſts; at which time all the Iews from all places come together to the Synagogue, after the benediction of the Holy Law, before the Miniſter of the Synagogue bleſſeth the people of the Iews; with a loud voice he bleſſeth the Prince of the Country under whom they live, that all the Iews may hear it, and ſay, Amen. The words he uſeth are theſe, as in the printed book of the Iews may be ſeen: *He that giveth ſalvation unto Kings, and dominion unto Lords, he that delivered his ſervant David from the ſword of the Enemy, he that made a way in the Sea, and a path in the ſtrange waters, bleſſe and keep, preſerve and reſcue, exalt and magnify, and lift up higher and higher, our Lord.* [And then he names, the Pope, the Emperour, King, Duke, or any other Prince under whom the Iews live, and add's:] *The King of kings defend him in his mercy, making him joyfull, & free him from all dangers and diſtreſſe. The King of kings, for his goodneſs ſake, raiſe up and exalt his planetary ſtar, & multiply his dayes over his Kingdome. The King of kings for his mercies ſake, put into his heart, and into the heart of his Counſellers, & thoſe that attend and adminiſter to him, that he may ſhew mercy unto us, & unto all the people of Iſrael. In his dayes and in our dayes, let Iudah be ſafe, and Iſrael dwell ſecurely, and let the Redeemer come to Iſrael, and ſo may it pleaſe God. Amen.* Theſe are the very formalities ſet down word for word, which the Iewes, by the command of God, received from the Talmud, do uſe in their prayers

yers for Princes, under whoſe government they reſide. And therefore wiſe Princes are wont to baniſh from their Courts falſe reports. And moſt wiſe *R. Simon Ben-Iochai*, in his excellent book called *Zoar* in Saraſa Pecudi, relates, that *it is a Tradition received from Heaven, that the Kings of the Nations of the world, Princes, Governours, that protect the Iews in this world, or do them any good, that the ſame ſhall enjoy certain degrees of glory, or eternall reward; as on the other ſide, they that do to the Nation of the Iews any harm, that they ſhall be puniſhed with ſome particular eternal puniſhment.* As appeareth alſo out of Eſa. the laſt chapter.

Thus you ſee the Fidelity of the Iews to wards their Governours clearly proved. Now, that no man may think that their baniſhment out of Spaign & Portugal, proceeded from any ſuſpition or faults of theirs, I ſhall clearly rehearſe the reaſon of ſo ſudden a determination, and what the thoughts of many Chriſtian Princes have been there-upon. The buſineſs was thus: Ferdinand and Iſabella, Governours of Caſtile, having gained the Kingdome of Granada, of which they took poſſeſſion on the fifth of Ianuary, they reſolved to thruſt out all the Iews that lived in their Kingdomes, and ſo on the laſt of March, they made an Edict in the ſame City, in which they expreſſed: *That ſeeing the* Iews *in their Countries drew many Chriſtians to turn* Iews, *and eſpecially ſome Noble-men of their Kingdome of Andaluzia, that for this cauſe they baniſhed them under moſt heavy penalties, &c.* So that the cauſe of their baniſhment was not any diſloyalty at all.

Now what amongſt many others in all Chriſtendom, one famous Lawyer in Rome, and Oſorius an excellent and moſt eloquent Hiſtorian have thought, I ſhall here relate. In the year 1492 (ſaith the Lawyer) Ferdinand, called the Catholick, being King of Spain, drove out of his Country all the Iews that were living there from the time of the Babylonian and Roman Captivity, and were very rich in houſes and goods: and that upon pain, if they went not away within the term of ſix moneths, that all their houſes and goods ſhould be confiſcated unto the Exchequer, which as

we have ſaid, were very great. Whereupon they leaving the Kingdome of Caſtile, they went over many of them into Portugal, as being the neareſt place. In the year 1497, there being an Alliance contracted between the Kings of Caſtile and Portugal; the Jews at the requeſt of the ſaid King Ferdinand, were baniſhed out of Portugal; but it being againſt the will of Emanuel, King of Portugal, to have them baniſhed out of his Country, he reſolved to oblidge them to become Chriſtians, promiſing never to moleſt them, neither in Criminall matters, nor in the loſſe of their goods; and exempted them from many burdens, and Tributs of the Kingdome. This Emanuel being dead, John III, ſucceeded in his place in the Kingdome of Portugal, who being excited by others, ſaid, That what his Father Emanuel had done, concerning the not-troubling them, was of no valew, becauſe they lived not as was convenient, & that without the authority of the Pope of Rome, his father could not graunt any ſuch thing: for which cauſe he would that for thoſe that lived amiſſe, they ſhould be proceeded againſt, as againſt the Mores in Caſtile: And ſending to Rome to diſanull the ſaid promiſes, it was not onely not graunted to him, but moreover they reprooved his appearance there, and praiſed and approoved the promiſes made by his Father Emanuel to the Jewes, publiſhing a generall pardon to all that were taken, which were about 1500, and they all were ſet free. Which Bull was graunted by Clement VII. by the intervention of all the Conſiſtory of Cardinals. Afterwards the ſaid king John ſent once again to deſire the former Licence with ſo many replications and triplications, that at length the Pope granted it: But a few daies after it was revoked again with a generall Pardon to all that were taken, which were 12000, with ſuch a determination, that the ſame Licence ſhould never be graunted, as being againſt all right and reaſon. This troubled Don John the King very much, and withall the Cardinal his brother, who came in theſe laſt dayes to be King of Portugal himſelf. Great Paul III. of the houſe of Farneſia, ſucceeding to Clement the VII. there was a requeſt rendred to the Pope for power to bring in the Inquiſition into this King-

Kingdome. The Pope would not graunt it, ſaying: He could not, and that it was a thing againſt reaſon and Iuſtice, but on the contrary confirmed the promiſes made by the King Don Emanuel, his Father; and pardoned all the delinquents ſince the time of violence unto that day. Don Iohn ſeeing this, ſent an Embaſſadour meerly for that buſineſſe to the Pope, but could obtain nothing at all: for which cauſe King Iohn reſolved to entreat the Emperour Charles the V. then paſſing for Rome, as Conquerour over the Turks, having wonn Tunis and Goleta, that in this his Triumph he would take occaſion to deſire this favour from the Pope, that the King of Portugal might ſet up the Inquiſition in his Kingdome, it being an old cuſtome that thoſe that triumphed, ſhould aske ſomething of the Pope that they moſt deſired. The Emperour than having deſired this, the Pope anſwered him, that he could not do it by reaſon of the agreement made, and the promiſes of the King Don Emanuel; which he had found by an Apoſtolicall Nuntio in Portugal in the year 1497, at which time the Iewes were forced and compelled to become Chriſtians. The Emperour replyed, Let that ſinne fall on him, and the Prince his ſonne, the Apoſtolicall ſeat ſhall be free from it. So the Pope graunted it; becauſe the Emperour Charles the V. was brother in law to King Don Iohn of Portugal; and beſides they treated at that time to enter further in affinity, and to marry their children, which ſince was effected. After Paul the III. graunted this, there was a new Pardon given in generall to all that were taken unto that time, amounting the Number unto 1800. But the King refuſing to obey the Pardon, and to free the Priſonners, the Pope tooke it very ill, and ſent for this onely buſineſſe for his Nuntio, one Monſegnor Monte Paliciano, who ſince was Cardinal of the Church of Rome. And the King for all this not obeying, the Pope made the Nuntio to fix the Pardon upon the doores of the Cathedrall Churches, and the Nuntio cauſed the Priſons to be opened, and there were ſet free about 1800 priſoners. He that ſollicited this buſineſſe at Rome was one Seignor Duarte de Paz, a Cavallier of the Order of

of St. Iohn: whom to ſearch out there were appointed at Rome ten men diſguiſed ; theſe having found him, gave him fifteen wounds, and left him for dead : thus wounded, he was carried to the houſe of Seignor Philip Eſtrozi : This being reported to the Pope, Paul the III. he cauſed him to be carried to the Caſtle of S. Angelo, where he gave order to have him nobly cured. That ſame Seignor was by the Pope, by all the Cardinals and the whole Court in great reſpect. At the ſame time that this man was hurt, the Emperour Charles the V. was at Rome with his Army. On the time when he began to treat of this buſineſſe with Clement the VII. ſeeing the Kings importunity, he made a Bull and gave licence to all the Portugals of that Nation of the Iews; that they might go and live in the Church-Dominions, & whoſoever will come in the ſaid Dominions, that he ſhall have freedom to live, as at the firſt, in his Iewiſh profeſſion, and that at no time they ſhould be enquired into, but after the ſame manner as they were wont to live in Portugal, ſo they ſhould live there. The ſaid Bull paſſed all the Conſiſtory; and being confirmed and received by the ſaid Portugals, they began ſome of them to depart to live in Ancona, being a ſea-port more commodious then others: which being known by the King and Cardinal of Portugal, they cauſed to be proclaimed in all the Kingdome, that upon paine of death, and loſſe of all their goods, no man ſhould dare depart the Kingdome. Clement being dead, in his place ſucceeded (as we have ſaid) Pope Paul the III. who confirmed the ſame Priviledges: Afterwards in the year 1550. Paul the III. died, and Julius the III. ſucceeded, who ratified the fore-mentioned Priviledges given by his Predeceſſours, and the whole Apoſtolike Seat inviolably. In thoſe times there were many Doctors that wrote on this matter, amongſt whom the chiefeſt were Alciat, and the Cardinal Pariſius in 2 & 3 *parte Conſiliorum pro Chriſtianis noviter converſis;* ſhewing by reaſon and law, that conſidering they were forced and not converted willingly, that they had not fallen nor do fall under any Cenſure. Theſe reaſons being conſidered of by the Princes of Italy, they graunted likewiſe the ſame Priviledges: viz.

viz. Coſmo the Great, Duke of Florence, and Hercules, Duke of Ferrare, and within few years Emanuel Felibert, Duke of Savoye; and were by all his ſucceſſours confirmed. In the year 1492, when they were baniſhed from Caſtile, we read in the Chronicles of that Kingdome, that the Lords of that place did complain that their Cities and Towns were deſtroyed and dis-inhabitated; and had they believed any ſuch thing, that they would have oppoſed the Kings decree, and would never have given their conſent to it. That was the cauſe, that Don Emanuel of Portugal, ſeeing on the one ſide apparent dammage, ſhould he let them depart his Kingdome; and on the otherſide, not being able to break his promiſe made to the King of Caſtile, he cauſed them to be compelled to the Faith, upon paine of Death, that they ſhould not depart out of his Dominions. The Catholiq King was blamed of all Chriſtian Princes, and eſpecially by the Senate of Venice, (as Marcus Antonius Sabellicus doth write) for having baniſhed a Nation ſo profitable to the Publicq and Particular good, without any kind of pretence. And ſo the Parliament of Paris likewiſe did extreamly wonder at ſuch a determination. And truely good reaſon there was to wonder; for we ſee ſince, what the Senat of Venice hath done, who never deliberats or puts into execution any thing, without great judgement: having the advantage of all Republicqs in their Government and leaving behind them the Romans, Carthagenians, Athenians, and moſt learned Lacedemonians, and that Parliament of Paris, which in the Government of affaires was alwayes moſt prudent. Moſt of thoſe that were baniſhed paſſed to the Levant, who were embraced by the Ottoman-family, all the ſucceeding Kings wondring at it, that the Spanjards, who make profeſſion to be a politiq Nation, ſhould drive out of their kingdomes ſuch a people. Moreover Sultan Bajazet, and Sultan Soliman, received them exceeding well, the coming of the Iews to them being very acceptable: and ſo did likewiſe all their ſucceſſours, conſidering of how great a profit and benefit their reſiding in their Dominions was. And in the year 1555.

Paul the IV. being choſen Pope of Rome, who before was called Cardinal de Chieſi, an intimate to the Cardinal of Portugal, cauſed the Iewes to be held in Ancona, & other places of the Church, according to the Priviledges graunted to them by the Popes, his Predeceſſours in the name of the Apoſtolical Roman ſeat. Licurgus, Solon and Draco, and all Founders of Commonwealths, gave counſell that ſtrangers ought to be loved and much made of, as in the Diſcourſes of *Se. in 7 de Legibus de Rep.* is amply to be ſeen. And by the Divine Law (as Moſes commanded us) we ought not to trouble a ſtranger, but he ſayes, *Remember you were ſtrangers in the Land of Egypt.*

In ſumme, to the ſame purpoſe might be brought many other and more powerfull reaſons, but becauſe they are out of our conſideration, we paſſe them over. And here to declare ſome particulars, worthy to be known for adviſe and example, that befell our Nation in thoſe bitter baniſhments; part whereof Hieronymus Oſorius recites more at large, in the firſt of his elegant two Books de Rebus Emanuelis. The firſt title he giveth to thoſe miſerable ſucceſſes, is this, which he puts for a Poſtil in the margent of his booke, *Iudæorum Liberi per vim ad Chriſtianiſmum pertracti:* and than rehearſes, how that in the year 1496 the King decreed, that all the Iewes and Mores, that dwelt in his Kingdome, and would not become Chriſtians, ſhould depart his Dominions in a ſhort time; which being paſt, all that ſhould be found in his Kingdome, ſhould looſe their liberty, and become ſlaves to the King. The time being now at hand (as Oſorius proceeds) in which the Iewes, that would not turne Chriſtians, were to depart the Kingdome, and all of them as many as they were, had with all their power provided, and taken a firme reſolution to be gone: which the King ſeeing, and not able to endure it, thought upon a buſineſſe (as he ſaith) *facto quidem iniquam & injuſtam*, which to do was really wicked and unjuſt, and that was to command that all the children of the Iſraelites, that were not above 14 years old, ſhould be taken out of the power of their own Parents; & when they had them, they ſhould force them to

to become Chriſtians; a new thing that could not be done without a wonderfull alteration of their minds: for it was (as Oſorius ſpeaks) a horrid and miſerable ſpectacle, to ſee the tender Infants wreſtled out of the arms and breſts of their lamenting mothers, to dragge along their poore fathers that held them faſt, and to give them many wounds and blows to draw them out of their handes; to hear their cryes that aſcend to heaven, their groanes, lamentations, and complaints every-where, ſo that this cruelty was the cauſe, that many of thoſe diſtreſſed Fathers threw their children into wells, and others killed themſelves with their own hands, that they might not ſee ſo bitter a thing with their eyes. The cruelty of Emanuel ended not here, but going on with compulſion and revilings, gave cauſe to his owne Chronographer to make the ſecond title or poſtil, with theſe words; *Vis & Dolus Iudæis illata*: That is, The force and deceit uſed towards the Iewes. And ſo he goes on, declaring how he had promiſed in the condition they had made, that he would aſſigne them three Ports in his Kingdome to embarque at, viz. Lisbon, Setuval, and Puerto: and nevertheleſſe he forbad them afterwards to embarque themſelves in any place but Lisbon: for which cauſe all the Iewes of the Kingdome came to that City, from whence beſides a thouſand moleſtations and extortions, he drove them (as Vaſquo ſaith) as ſheep in the ſtalls, and there forced their afflicted bodies to counterfeit, that which their ſoules and thoughts never meant nor approoved of. Works, of which his own Chronologer ſaith, *Fuit hoc quidem neque ex Lege, neque ex religione factum.* That is, This was done neither according to Law, nor Religion. Let men of clear mind, and free from paſſion conſider for Gods ſake, if ſuch violences can work any good impreſſion or character in men: or what Law, either Humain or Divine, National or Modern, can bear, that the ſouls of men (which the Moſt High hath created free) be forced to believe what they believe not, and to love what they hate? This cruelty was reproved and cenſure of many Princes of the world and learned men. And his own Chronologer reprehends it with a new poſtil, and ſpeaks

freely; *Regis in Iudæos facinorum reprehenſio.* That is, A cenſure of the Kings wickedneſſe againſt the Iews. Truely with juſt reaſon doth Oſorius call the works, which the King did unto us, *Iniquities and injuſtices, deceitfull violences, and wicked attempts:* and ſo goes on, reproving them with moſt elegant Reaſons.

Further what happened to the Iews under other Princes in other Kingdomes and Countries, is notorious and enough known to all the world, and therefore not neceſſary here to relate. So farre concerning their Banniſhment.

Now, I will not conceale to ſay, but that alwayes there have bene found ſome calumniators, that endeavouring to make the Nation infamous, laid upon them *three moſt falſe reports*, as if *they were dangerous to the Goods, the Lives*, and withall to *the very Souls of the Natives*. They urge againſt them their *uſuries*, the *ſlaying of infants* to celebrate their Paſſe-over, and the *inducing Chriſtians to become* Iews. To all which I ſhall anſwer briefly.

1. As for *uſury*, ſuch dealing is not the eſſential property of the Iews, for though in Germany there be ſome indeed that practiſe uſury; yet the moſt part of them that live in Turky, Italy, Holland and Hamburg, being come out of Spaigne, they hold it infamous to uſe it; and ſo with a very ſmall profit of 4. or 5. per Cent, as Chriſtians themſelves do, they put their money ordinarily in Banco: for to lay out their money without any profit, was commanded only toward their brethren of the ſame Nation of the Iews; but not to any other Nation. And however by this Charity is not hurt: for it ſtands in good reaſon, that every on ſhould gain and get ſome advantage with his money, to ſuſtaine his own life: and when any one to ſupply his own wants, doth take ſome courſe of Marchandiſe, by which he hopes to gaine by other mens moneys taken up on truſt, 'tis no inhumanity to reckon and take from him uſe: For as no man is bound to give his goods to an other; ſo is he not bound to let it out, but for his own occaſions and profit, and not to leave himſelf deſtitute of the profit he could make of

of the monyes. Onely this muſt be done with moderation, that the uſury be not biting and exorbitant, which the Chriſtians themſelves uſe, amongſt themſelves; as even in the Mounts of Piety at Padua, Vicenza and Verona is to be ſeen, where they take 6 par Cent, and elſewhere yet much more. This in no manner can be called Robbery, but is with conſent and will of the Contracter; and the ſame Sacred Scripture, which allows uſury with him that is not of the ſame Religion, forbids abſolutely the robbing of all men, whatſoever Religion they be of. In our Law it is a greater ſinne to rob or defraud a ſtranger, than if I did it to one of my own profeſſion: becauſe a Jew is bound to ſhew his charity to all men: for he hath a precept, not to abhorre an Idumean, nor an Egyptian; and that he ſhall love and protect a ſtranger that comes to live in his land. If notwithſtanding there be ſome that do contrary to this, they do it not as Iewes ſimply, but as wicked Iewes, as amongſt all nations there are found generally ſome Uſurers.

2. As for *killing of the young children of Chriſtians;* it is an infallible truth what is reported of the Negros of Guinea and Brazil, that if they ſee any miſerable man that hath eſcaped from the danger of the ſea, or hath fallen or ſuffered any kind of ill-fortune, or Shipwrake, they perſecute and vex him ſo much the more, ſaying, *God curſe thee.* And wee that live not amongſt the Blacke-moors and wild-men, but amongſt the white and civilized people of the world, yet wee find this an ordinary courſe, that men are very prone to hate and deſpiſe him that hath ill fortune; and on the other ſide, to make much of thoſe whom fortune doth favour. Hereof the Chriſtians themſelves have good experience; for during the times of their ſuppreſſion and perſecution under the Roman Empire, they were falſely ſlandred of divers Emperours and tyrannicall Princes. Nero accuſed them, that they had ſet Rome on fire; Others, that they were Witches and Conjurers; and others againe that they ſlew their children to celebrate their Ceremonies, as wee find in divers Authors. Even ſo likewiſe it is with the Jewiſh Nation, that now is diſperſed and afflicted, though they have

moneys: There is no ſlander nor calumny that is not caſt upon them, even the very ſame ancient ſcandall that was caſt of old upon the innocent Chriſtians, is now laid upon the Jews. Whereas the whole world may eaſely perceive, it is but a meer ſlander, ſeeing it is known that at this day, out of Jeruſalem, no ſacrifice nor blood is in any uſe by them, even that blood which is found in an Egg is forbidden them, how much more mans blood? Moreover I could produce divers memorable examples which out in our own times in Araguza to a Jew: how he was accuſed of this ſame wickedneſs, and not confeſſing it, how they impriſoned him betwixt to walls, and being in that diſtreſſe, how he cited before God all the Judges to anſwer there for what they did; and how within a year after, many of the Iudges died, and thoſe that lived, fearing the like might befall them, and looſe their lives, ſet him free: But I muſt not be too prolix; it may ſuffice to ſay, that by the Pope himſelf it was defined in full Counſell the accuſation to be falſe; and ſo likewiſe judged all the Princes of Italy; as alſo Alphonſo the Wiſe, King of Spain, and that it was onely a meer invention to drink the blood, and to ſwallow up the goods of the harmleſſe Iews.

3. As for the *third* Point, I ſay, that although Ferdinand & Iſabell, giving colour to ſo indiſcreet a determination, ſaid, that they induced the Nobles to become Iews, yet truely this cannot be ſaid, but by ſome falſe informations. For if ſo be, amongſt thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, it may happen, that ſome of the Sect of the Papiſts, of a better mind, embrace the Iewiſh Religion; it cannot therefore be preſumed, that they were induced thereunto by the Iews; ſeeing the Iews do not entice any man to profeſſe their Law: But if any man of his own free-will come to them, they by their rites & Ceremonies are obliged to make proof of them, whether they come for any temporall intereſt, and to perſuade them to look well to themſelves what they do: that the Law unto which they are to ſubmit themſelves, is of many precepts; and doth oblige the tranſgreſſor to many ſore puniſhments. And ſo we follow the example of Nahomi, cited in the Sacred Scripture, who did not

not perſuade Ruth to go along with her; but ſaid firſt to her: *Orpa thy ſiſter returned to her Nation and her Gods; go thou and follow her.* But Ruth continuing conſtant, then at length ſhe received her.

Beſides this, the Iews indeed have reaſon to take care for their own preſervation; and therefore will not go about by ſuch wayes to make themſelves odious to Princes and Common-wealths, under whoſe Dominions they live.

Now, becauſe I beleive, that with a good conſcience I have diſcharged our Nation of the Iews of thoſe three ſlanders or calumnies, as elſewhere I have more at large written about it; I conceive I may from thoſe two qualities, of Profitableneſſe and Fidelity conclude, that ſuch a Nation ought to be well entertained, and alſo beloved and protected generally of all. The more, conſidering they are called in the Sacred Scriptures, the Sons of God; and 'tis ſaid by all the Prophets, that they who ſhall wrong them, ſhall be moſt ſeverely puniſhed; and that he that toucheth them, toucheth the apple of Gods eye. And at leaſt, it was alwayes the opinion of Auguſtine, as he made it appear in his works *Libr. de Doctrina Chriſtiana cap.* 28. where he ſaith, *Quod omnes homines æque diligendi ſunt.* That all men are equally to be beloved.

Now, having proved the two former Points. I could adde a third, viz. of the Nobility of the Iews: but becauſe that Point is enough known amongſt all Chriſtians, as lately yet it hath been moſt worthily and excellently ſhewed and deſcribed in a certain Book, called, *The Glory of Iehudah and Iſrael*, dedicated to our Nation by that worthy Chriſtian Miniſter Mr. *Henry Ieſſey*, (1653. in Duch) where this matter is ſet out at large: And by Mr. *Edw. Nicholas* Genleman, in his Book, called, *An Apologie for the Honorable Nation of the Iews, and all the Sons of Iſrael* (1648. in Engliſh.) Therefore I will here forbeare, and reſt on their ſaying of our King Salomon, the wiſeſt on earth, *Let another mans mouth praiſe thee, and not thine own.* Which is the cloſe of *Rabbi Meneſſe Ben-Iſrael*, a Divine, and Doctor in Phyſick, in the *Strand* over againſt the *New-Exchange* in *London.*

FINIS.

Menasseh ben Israel.

from a portrait by Rembrandt
now in the Hermitage Collection. St. Petersburg.

VINDICIÆ JUDÆORUM,

OR A

LETTER

In Anſwer to certain Queſtions propounded by a Noble and Learned Gentleman, touching the reproaches caſt on the Nation of the Jevves; wherein all objections are candidly, and yet fully cleared.

By Rabbi Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael *a Divine and a Phyſicyan.*

Printed by *R. D.* in the year 1656.

(105)

Moſt Noble, and Learned Sir,

I Have received a letter from your worſhip, which was welcome to me; and I read it, becauſe yours, with great delight; if you will pleaſe to allow for the unpleaſantneſſe of the ſubject. For I do aſſure your worſhip, I never met with any thing in my life which I did more deeply reſent, for that it reflecteth upon the credit of a nation, which amongſt ſo many calumnies, ſo manifeſt, (and therefore ſhamefull) I dare to pronounce innocent. Yet I am afraid, that whilſt I anſwer to them, I ſhall offend ſome, whoſe zeal will not permit them to conſider, that ſelf vindication, as defenſive armes, is naturall to all; but to be wholly ſilent, were to acknowledge what is ſo falſly objected. Wherefore that I may juſtifie my ſelf to my own conſcience, I have obeyed your worſhips commands: for your requeſt muſt not be accounted leſſe, at leaſt by me. I preſume your worſhip cannot expect either prolix, or polite diſcourſes upon ſo ſad a ſubject; for who can be ambitious in his own calamity? I have therefore diſpatcht onely ſome conciſe, and brief relations, barely exceeding the bounds of a letter; yet ſuch as may ſuffice you, to inform the Rulers of the *English* nation, of a truth moſt reall, and ſincere; which I hope they will accept in good part, according to their noble, and ſingular prudence and piety. For innocencie being alwayes moſt free from ſuſpecting evil, I cannot be perſwaded, that any one hath either ſpoken, or written againſt us, out of any particular hatred that they bare us, but that they rather ſuppoſed our coming might prove prejudiciall to their eſtates, and intereſts; charity alwayes beginning at home. Yet notwithſtanding I propounded this matter under an argument of profit (for this hath made us welcome in other countries) and

therefore I hope I may prove what I undertake. However, I have but ſmall encouragement to expect the happy attainment of any other deſign, but onely that truth may be juſtified of her children. I ſhall anſwer in order to what your worſhip hath propoſed.

THE FIRST SECTION.

AND in the firſt place, I cannot but weep bitterly, and with much anguiſh of ſoul lament that ſtrange and horrid accuſation of ſome Chriſtians againſt the diſperſed, and afflicted *Iewes* that dwell among them, when they ſay (what I tremble to write) that the *Iewes* are wont to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread, fermenting it with the bloud of ſome Chriſtians, whom they have for this purpoſe killed: when the calumniators themſelves have moſt barbarouſly and cruelly butchered ſome of them. Or to ſpeak more mildly, have found one dead, and caſt the corps, as if it had been murdered by the *Iewes*, into their houſes or yards, as lamentable experience hath proved in ſundry places: and then with unbridled rage and tumult, they accuſe the innocent *Iews*, as the committers of this moſt execrable fact. Which deteſtable wickedneſſe hath been ſometimes perpetrated, that they might thereby take advantage to exerciſe their cruelty upon them; and ſometimes to juſtifie, and patronize their maſſacres already executed. But how farre this accuſation is from any ſemblable appearance of truth, your worſhip may judge by theſe following arguments.

1. It is utterly forbid the *Iewes* to eat any manner of bloud whatſoever, *Levit.* Chapter 7. 26. and *Deuter.* 12. where it is expreſly ſaid וכל דם, *And ye ſhall eat no manner of bloud*, and in obedience to this command the *Iewes* eat not the bloud of any animal. And more then this, if they find one drop of bloud in an egge, they caſt it away as prohibited. And if in eating a piece of bread, it happens to touch any bloud drawn from the teeth, or gummes, it muſt be pared, and cleanſed from the ſaid bloud, as it evidenely appeares in *Sulhan Haruch* and our rituall book. Since then it is thus, how can it enter into any mans heart to believe

lieve that they ſhould eat humane bloud, which is yet more deteſtable, there being ſcarce any nation now remaining upon earth ſo barbarous, as to commit ſuch wickedneſſe?

2. The precept in the Decalogue *Thou ſhalt not kill* is of generall extent; it is a morall command. So that the *Iewes* are bound not onely, not to kill one of thoſe nations where they live, but they are alſo oblig'd by the law of gratitude, to love them. They are the very words of R. *Moſes* of *Egypt* in *Iad a Razaka*, in his treatiſe of Kings, the tenth Chapter, in the end, *Concerning the nations, the ancients have commanded us to viſit their ſick and to bury their dead, as the dead of Iſrael, and to relieve, and maintain their poor, as we do the poor of Iſrael, becauſe of the wayes of peace, as it is written, God is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.* Pſal. 145. 9. And in conformity hereto, I witneſſe before God bleſſed for ever, that I have continually ſeen in *Amſterdam* where I reſide, abundance of good correſpondency, many interchanges of brotherly affection, and ſundry things of reciprocall love. I have thrice ſeen when ſome *Flemine* Chriſtians have fallen into the river in our ward, called *Flemburgh*, our nation caſt themſelves into the river to them, to help them out, and to deliver their lives from death. And certainly he that will thus hazard himſelf to ſave another, cannot harbour ſo much cruell malice, as to kill the innocent, whom he ought out of the duty of humanity to defend and protect.

3. It is forbidden *Exodus* 21. 20. to kill a ſtranger; *If a man ſmite his ſervant, or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he ſhall ſurely be punished, notwithſtanding, if he continue a day or two, he ſhall not be punished, for he is his money.* The text ſpeaks of a ſervant that is one of the Gentile nations, becauſe that he onely is ſaid to be the *money* of the *Iew*, who is his maſter, as *Aben Ezra* well notes upon the place. And the Lord commands, that if he die under the hand of his maſter, his maſter ſhall be put to death, for that as it ſeems, he ſtruck him with a murderous intent. But it is otherwiſe if the ſervant dies afterwards, for then it appeares, that he did not ſtrike him with a purpoſe to kill him; for if ſo, he would have killed him out of hand, wherefore he ſhall be free, and it may ſuffice for puniſhment that he hath loſt his money. If therefore a *Iew* cannot

kill his ſervant, or ſlave that is one of the nations, according to the law, how much leſſe ſhall he be impowred to murder him that is not his *enemy*, and with whom he leads a quiet and a peaceable life? and therefore how can any good man believe that againſt his holy law, a *Iew* (in a ſtrange countrey eſpecially) ſhould make himſelf guilty of ſo execrable a fact?

4. Admit that it were lawfull (which God forbid) why ſhould they eat the bloud? And ſuppoſing they ſhould eat the bloud, why ſhould they eat it on the Paſſeover? Here at this feaſt, every confection ought to be ſo pure, as not to admit of any leaven, or any thing that may fermentate, which certainly bloud doth.

5. If the *Iewes* did repute, and hold this action (which is never to be named without an epethite of horrour) neceſſary, they would not expoſe themſelves to ſo eminent a danger, to ſo cruell and more deſerved puniſhment, unleſſe they were moved to it by ſome divine precept; or at leaſt, ſome conſtitution of their wiſe men. Now we challenge all thoſe men who entertain this dreadfull opinion of us, as obliged in point of juſtice, to cite the place of Scripture, or of the Rabbins, where any ſuch precept, or doctrine is delivered. And untill they do ſo, we will aſſume ſo much liberty, as to conclude it to be no better then a malicious ſlander.

6. If a man, to ſave his life, may break the Sabbath, and tranſgreſſe many of the other commands of the law, as hath been determined in the Talmud; as alſo confirmed by R. *Moſes* of *Egypt*, in the fifth Chapter of his treatiſe of the fundamentalls of the law; yet three are excepted, which are, *idolatry*, *murther*, and *adultery*; life not being to be purchaſed at ſo dear a rate, as the committing of theſe heinous ſins: an innocent death being infinitely to be preferred before it. Wherefore if the killing of a Chriſtian, as they object, were a divine precept, and inſtitution, (which far be it from me to conceive) it were certainly to be null'd and rendred void, ſince a man cannot perform it, without indangering his own life; and not onely ſo, but the life of the whole congregation of an entire people; and yet more, ſince it is directly a violation of one of theſe three precepts, *Thou shalt do no murder:* which is intended univerſally of all men, as we have ſaid before.

7. The

7. The Lord, bleſſed for ever, by his prophet *Ieremiah* Chap. 29. 7. gives it in command to the captive Iſraelites that were diſperſed among the heathens, that they ſhould continually pray for, and endeavour the peace, welfare and proſperity of the city wherein they dwelt, and the inhabitants thereof. This the *Iewes* have alwayes done, and continue to this day in all their Synagogues, with a particular bleſſing of the Prince or Magiſtrate, under whoſe protection they live. And this the Right Honourable my Lord *St. Iohn* can teſtifie; who when he was Embaſſadour to the Lords the States of the united Provinces, was pleaſed to honour our Synagogue at *Amſterdam* with his preſence, where our nation entertained him with muſick, and all expreſſions of joy and gladneſſe, and alſo pronounced a bleſſing, not onely upon his honour, then preſent, but upon the whole Common-wealth of *England*, for that they were a people in league and amity; and becauſe we conceived ſome hopes that they would manifeſt towards us, what we ever bare towards them, *viz.* all love and affection. But to return again to our argument, if we are bound to ſtudy, endeavour, and ſollicite, the good and flouriſhing eſtate of the city where we live, and the inhabitants thereof, how ſhall we then murder their children, who are the greateſt good, and the moſt flouriſhing bleſſing that this life doth indulge to them.

8. The children of Iſrael are naturally mercifull, and full of compaſſion. This was acknowledged by their enemies, *Kings* 1. 20, 31. when *Benhadad* King of *Aſſyria* was diſcomfited in the battel, and fled away, he became a petitioner for his life to King *Ahab*, who had conquered him; for he underſtood that *the Kings of the houſe of Iſrael were mercifull Kings;* and his own experience confirmed it, when for a little affection that he pretended in a complement, he obtained again his life and fortunes, from which the event of the warre had diſentitled him. And when the *Gibeonites* made that cruell requeſt to *David*, that ſeven of *Sauls* ſons who were innocent, ſhould be delivered unto them, the prophet ſaies, *now the Gibeonites were not of the children of Iſrael*, Sam. 2. 21, 2. as if he had ſaid, in this cruelty, the piety of the Iſraelites is not ſo much ſet forth, as the tyranny, and implacable rage of the Gentiles, the *Gibeonites*. Which being ſo, and experience withall

withall declares it, *viz.* the fidelity which our nation hath inviolably preſerved towards their ſuperiours, then moſt certainly it is wholly incompatible, and inconſiſtent with the murdering of their children.

9. There are ſome Chriſtians, that uſe to inſult againſt the *Iewes*, as Chriſtian homicides, that will venter to give a reaſon of theſe pretended murtherous practiſes. As if the accuſation were then moſt infallibly true, if they can find any ſemblance of a reaſon why it might be ſo. As they ſay, that this is practiſed by them in hatred and deteſtation of Jeſus of Nazareth. And that therefore they ſteal Chriſtian Children, buffeting them in the ſame manner that he was buffetted; thereby to rub up, and revive the memory of the aforeſaid death. And likewiſe they imagine that the *Iewes* ſecretly ſteal away croſſes, crucifixes, and ſuch like graven images, which Papiſts privately and carefully retein in their houſes, and every day the *Iewes* mainly ſtrike, and buffet, ſhamefully ſpitting on them, with ſuch like ceremonies of deſpight, and all this in hatred of Jeſus. But I admire what they really think, when they object ſuch things as theſe, laying them to our charge. For ſurely we cannot believe, that a people, otherwiſe of ſufficient prudence, and judgement, can perſwade themſelves into an opinion that the *Iewes* ſhould commit ſuch practiſes, unleſſe they could conceive they did them in honour and obedience to the God whom they worſhip. And what kind of obedience is this they perform to God bleſſed for ever, when they directly ſin againſt that ſpeciall command *Thou ſhalt not kill?* Beſides, this cannot be committed without the imminent, and manifeſt perill of their lives aud fortunes, and the neceſſary expoſing themſelves to a juſt revenge. Moreover, it is an *Anathema* to a *Iew* to have any graven images in his houſe, or any thing of an idol, which any of the nations figuratively worſhip, *Deut.* 7. 26.

10. *Matthew Paris* p. 532. writes, how that in the year 1240. the *Iewes* circumciſed a Chriſtian child at *Norwich*, and gave him the name *Iurnin*, and referved him to be crucified, for which cauſe many of them were moſt cruelly put to death. The truth of this ſtory will evidently appear upon the conſideration of its circumſtances. He was firſt circumciſed, and this perfectly conſtitutes him

him a *Iew*. Now for a *Iew* to embrace a Chriſtian in his armes, and foſter him in his boſome, is a teſtimony of great love and affection. But if it was intended that ſhortly after this child ſhould be crucified, to what end was he firſt circumciſed? If it ſhall be ſaid it was out of hatred to the Chriſtians, it appears rather to the contrary, that it proceeded from deteſtation of the *Iewes*, or of them who had newly become proſelytes, to embrace the *Iewes* religion. Surely this ſuppoſed pranck (ſtoried to be done in popiſh times) looks more like a piece of the reall ſcene of the Popiſh *Spaniards* piety, who firſt baptiz'd the poor *Indians*, and afterwards out of cruel pity to their ſouls, inhumanely butchered them; then of ſtrict-law-obſerving *Iewes*, who dare not make a ſport of one of the ſeales of their covenant.

11. Our captivity under the Mahumetans is farre more burdenſome, and grievous then under the Chriſtians, and ſo our ancients have ſaid, *it is better to inhabit under Edom then Iſmael*, for they are a people more civill, and rationall, and of a better policie, as our nation have found experimentally. For, excepting the nobler, and better ſort of *Iewes*, ſuch as live in the Court of *Conſtantinople*, the vulgar people of the I*ewes* that are diſperſed in other countries of the Mahumetan Empire, in *Aſia* and *Africa*, are treated with abundance of contempt and ſcorn. It would therefore follow, that if this ſacrificing of children be the product and reſult of hatred, that they ſhould execute and diſgorge it much more upon the Mahumetans, who have reduced them to ſo great calamity and miſery. So that if it be neceſſary to the celebration of the Paſſeover, why do they not as well kill a *Mahumetan?* But although the *Iewes* are ſcattered, and diſperſed throughout all thoſe vaſt territories, notwithſtanding all their deſpite againſt us, they never yet to this day forged ſuch a calumnious accuſation. Wherefore it appeares plainly, that it is nothing elſe but a ſlander, and ſuch a one, that conſidering how the ſcene is laid, I cannot eaſily determine whether it ſpeak more of malice, or of folly: certainly Sultan *Selim* made himſelf very merry with it, when the ſtory was related him by *Moſes Amon* his chief Phyſician.

12. If all that which hath been ſaid is not of ſufficient force to wipe off this accuſation, becauſe the matter on our part is

purely negative, and ſo cannot be cleared by evidence of witneſſes, I am conſtrained to uſe another way of argument, which the Lord, bleſſed for ever, hath preſcribed *Exod.* 22. which is an oath; wherefore I ſwear, without any deceit or fraud, by the moſt high God, the creatour of heaven and earth, who promulged his law to the people of Iſrael, upon mount *Sinai*, that I never yet to this day ſaw any ſuch cuſtome among the people of Iſrael, and that they doe not hold any ſuch thing by divine precept of the law, or any ordinance or inſtitution of their wiſe men, and that they never committed or endeavoured ſuch wickedneſſe, (that I know, or have credibly heard, or read in any Jewiſh Authours) and if I lie in this matter, then let all the curſes mentioned in *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* come upon me, let me never ſee the bleſſings and conſolations of Zion, nor attain to the reſurrection of the dead. By this I hope I may have proved what I did intend, and certainly this may ſuffice all the friends of truth, and all faithfull Chriſtians to give credit to what I have here averred. And indeed our adverſaries who have been a little more learned, and conſequently a little more civill then the vulgar, have made a halt at this imputation. *Iohn Hoornbeek* in that book which he lately writ againſt our nation, wherein he hath objected againſt us, right or wrong, all that he could any wayes ſcrape together, was notwithſtanding aſhamed to lay this at our door, in his *Prolegomena* pag. 26. where he ſayes, *An autem verum ſit quod vulgò in hiſtoriis legatur, &c. i.e.* whether that be true which is commonly read in hiſtories, to aggravate the I*ewes* hatred againſt the Chriſtians, or rather the Chriſtians againſt the I*ewes*, that they ſhould annually upon the preparation of the Paſſeover, after a cruell manner ſacrifice a Chriſtian child, privily ſtollen, in diſgrace, and contempt of Chriſt, whoſe paſſion, and crucifixion the Chriſtians celebrate, I will not aſſert for truth; as well knowing, how eaſy it was for thoſe times wherein theſe things are mentioned, to have happen'd, (eſpecially after the Inquiſition was ſet up in the Popedome) to forge, and fain; and how the hiſtories of thoſe ages, according to the affection of the writers, were too too much addicted, and given unto fables and figments. Indeed I have never yet ſeen any of all thoſe relations that hath by any certain experiment

periment proved this fact, for they are all founded; either upon the uncertain report of the vulgar, or elſe upon the ſecret accuſation of the Monks belonging to the inquiſition, not to mention the avarice of the informers, wickedly hanquering after the *Iewes* wealth, and ſo with eaſe forging any wickedneſſe. For in the firſt book of the *Sicilian* conſtitutions tit. 7. we ſee the Emperour *Frederick* ſaying, *Sivero Iudæus, vel Saracenus ſit, in quibus prout certò perpendimus Chriſtianorum perſecutio minus abundat ad præſens,* but if he be a *Iew* or a *Saracen*, againſt whom, as we have weighed, the perſecution of the Chriſtians do much abound, *&c.* thus taxing the violence of certain Chriſtians againſt the *Iewes*. Or if perhaps it hath ſometimes happened, that a Chriſtian was kill'd by a *Iew*, we muſt not therefore ſay that in all places where they inhabit, they annually kill a Chriſtian Child. And for that which *Thomas Cantipratenſis* lib. 2. cap. 23. affirms, *viz.* that it is certainly known, that the *Iewes* every year, in every province, caſt lots what city or town ſhall afford Chriſtian bloud to the other cities. I can give it no more credit then his other fictions and lies wherewith he hath ſtuffed his book. Thus farre *Iohn Hoornbeek.*

13. Notwithſtanding all this, there are not wanting ſome hiſtories, that relate theſe and the like calumnies againſt an afflicted people, For which cauſe the Lord ſaith, *He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of my eye*, Zach. 2. 6. I ſhall curſolarily mention ſome paſſages that have occurred in my time, whereof, I ſay not that I was an eye witneſſe, but onely that they were of generall report and credence, without the leaſt contradiction. I have faithfully noted both the names of the perſons, the places where, and the time when they happened, in my continuation of *Flavius Joſephus*, I ſhall be the leſſe curious therefore in reciting them here. In *Vienna* the Metropolis of *Auſtria*, *Frederick* being Emperour, there was a pond frozen, according to the cold of thoſe parts, wherein three boyes (as it too frequently happens) were drowned. when they were miſſed, the imputation is caſt upon the *Jewes*, and they are incontinently indicted, for murthering of them, to celebrate their Paſſeover. And being impriſoned, after infinite prayers and ſupplications made to no effect, three hundred of them were burnt, when the pond thawd, theſe three boyes were found,

and then their innocency was clearly evinc'd although too late, after the execution of this cruelty.

In *Araguza* about thirty yeares ago, there was a Chriſtian woman, into whoſe houſe there came a little girle (of eleven yeares of age, daughter to a neighbouring gentleman) richly adorned with jewels: this wretched woman, not thinking of a ſafer way to rob her, then by killing her, cut her throat, and hid her under her bed, the girle was preſently miſt, and by information they underſtood that ſhe was ſeen to go into that houſe, they call a Magiſtrate to ſearch the houſe, and find the girle dead, ſhe confeſt the fact, and as if ſhe ſhould have expiated her own guilt by deſtroying a I*ew*, though never ſo innocent, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did it at the inſtigation and perſwaſion of one *Iſaac Jeshurun*, for that the J*ewes* wanted bloud to celebrate their feaſt: ſhe was hang'd, and the J*ew* was apprehended, who being ſix times cruelly tortur'd, they employing their wits in inventing unheard of, and inſufferable torments, ſuch as might gain *Perillous* the eſtimation of mercifull and compaſſionate, ſtill cryes out of the falſhood of the accuſation, ſaying, that that wickedneſſe which he never committed, no not ſo much as in his dreams, was maliciouſly imputed to him, yet notwithſtanding he was condemned to remain cloſe priſoner for twenty yeares, (though he continued there onely three,) and to be fed there through a trough, upon the bread and water of affliction, being cloſe manacled, and naked, within a four ſquare wall, built for that purpoſe, that he might there periſh in his own dung. This mans brother J*oſeph* J*eſhurun* is now living at this time in *Hamborough*. This miſerable man calling upon God, beſeeching him to ſhew ſome ſignall teſtimony of his innocencie, and citing before his divine tribunall the Senatours who had with no more mercy, then juſtice, thus grievouſly and inhumanely afflicted him; the bleſſed God was a juſt Judge, for the Prince died ſuddenly at a banquet, the Sunday next enſuing the giving of the ſentence, and during the time of his impriſonment, the aforeſaid Senatours by little and little dropt away, and died, which was prudently obſerved by thoſe few that yet remain'd, wherefore they reſolved to deliver themſelves by reſtoring him to his liberty, accounting it as a particular divine

vine providence: this man came out well, paſſed throughout all *Italy*, where he was ſeen, to the admiration of all that had cognizance of his ſufferings, and died a few yeares ſince at *Jeruſalem*.

14. The act of the faith (which is ordinarily done at *Toledo*) was done at *Madrid*, *Anno* 1632, in the preſence of the King of *Spain*, where the Inquiſitors did then take an oath of the King and queen, that they ſhould maintain and conſerve the Catholick faith in their dominions. In this act it is found printed, how that a family of our nation was burnt, for confeſſing upon the wrack the truth of a certain accuſation of a maid ſervant, who, (provoked out of ſome diſguſt) ſaid, that they had ſcourged, and whip't an image, which by the frequent laſhes, iſſued forth a great deal of bloud, and crying with an out ſtretched voice, ſaid unto them, why do you thus cruelly ſcourge me? the whole nobility well underſtood that it was all falſe, but things of the inquiſition all muſt huſh.

15. A very true ſtory happened at *Lisbon*, *Anno* 1631. A certain Church miſſed one night a ſilver pixe or box, wherein was the popiſh hoſts. And foraſmuch as they had ſeen a young youth of our nation, whoſe name was *Simao pires ſolis*, ſufficiently noble, to paſſe by the ſame night, not farre from thence, who went to viſit a Lady, he was apprehended, impriſoned, and terribly tortured. They cut off his hands, and after they had dragged him along the ſtreets, burnt him. one year paſſed over, and a thief at the foot of the gallowes confeſſed how he himſelf had rifled and plundered the ſhrine of the hoſt, and not that poor innocent whom they had burnt. This young mans brother was a Frier, a great Theologiſt, and a preacher, he lives now a *Jew* in *Amſterdam*, and calls himſelf *Eliazar de ſolis*.

16. Some perhaps will ſay, that men are not blame worthy for imputing to the *Jewes*, that which they themſelves with their own mouthes have confeſt. But ſurely he hath little underſtanding of wracks, and tortures that ſpeaks thus. An Earle of *Portugal*, when his Phyſicyan was impriſoned for being a *Jew*, requeſted one of the inquiſitors, by letter, that he would cauſe him to be ſet at liberty, for that he knew for certain that he was a very good Chriſtian, but

he not being able to undergo the tortures inflicted on him, confeſſed himſelf a *Iew*, and became a penitentiary. At which the Earl being much incenſt, feins himſelf ſick, and deſires the inquiſitor by one of his ſervants, that he would be pleaſed to come and viſit him. when he came, he commanded him that he ſhould confeſſe that himſelf was a *Iew*, and further, that he ſhould put it down in writing with his own hand, which when he refuſed to do, he charges ſome of his ſervants to put a helmet that was red hot in the fire, (provided for this purpoſe) upon his head; at which, he not being able to endure this threatned torment, takes him aſide to confeſſe, and alſo he writ with his own hand that he was a *Iew*: whereupon the Earl takes occaſion to reprove his injuſtice, cruelty, and inhumanity, ſaying, in like manner as you have confeſt, did my Phyſicyan confeſſe. Beſides that, you have preſently, onely out of fear, not ſence of torment, confeſt more. For this cauſe in the Iſraelitiſh Senate, no torture was ever inflicted, but onely every perſon was convicted at the teſtimony of two witneſſes. That ſuch like inſtruments of cruelty may enforce children that have been tenderly educated, and fathers that have lived deliciouſly to confeſſe that they have whipt an image, and been guilty of ſuch like criminall offences, daily experience may demonſtrate.

17. Others will perchance alledge, theſe are hiſtories indeed, but they are not ſacred, nor canonicall. I answer, Love and hatred ſayes *Plutarch*, corrupt the truth of every thing, as experience ſufficiently declares it; when we ſee that which comes to paſſe, that one and the ſame thing, in one and the ſame city, at one and the ſame time, is related in different manners. I my ſelf in my own Negotiation here have found it. For it hath been rumoured abroad, that our nation had purchaſed S. *Pauls* Church for to make it their Synagogue, notwithſtanding that it was formerly a temple conſecrated to the worſhip of *Diana*. And many other things have been reported of us that never entred into the thoughts of our nation; as I have ſeen a fabulous Narrative of the proceedings of a great Council of the *Iewes*, aſſembled in the plain of *Ageda* in *Hungaria*, to determine whether the Meſſiah were come or no.

18. And

18. And now, ſince that it is evident that it is forbidden the *Iewes* to eat any manner of bloud, and that to kill a man is directly prohibited by our law, and the reaſons before given are conſentaneous and agreeable to every ones underſtanding, I know it will be inquired by many, but eſpecially by thoſe who are more pious, and the friends of truth, how this calumnie did ariſe, and from whence it derived its firſt originall. I may anſwer, that this wickedneſſe is laid to their charge for divers reaſons.

Firſt, *Ruffinus* the familiar friend of S. *Hierome* in his verſion of *Ioſephus* his ſecond book that he writ againſt *Apion* the Grammarian (for the Greek text is there wanting) tells us how *Apion* invented this ſlander to gratifie *Antiochus*, to excuſe his ſacriledge, and juſtifie his perfidious dealing with the *Iewes*, making their eſtates ſupply his wants. *Propheta vero aliorum est Apion* &c. *Apion* is become a Prophet, and ſaid that *Antiochus* found in the temple, a bed, with a man lying upon it, and a table ſet before him, furniſhed with all dainties both of ſea and land, and fowles, and that this man was aſtoniſhed at them, and preſently adores the entrance of the King, as coming to ſuccour and relieve him, and proſtrating himſelf at his knees, & ſtretching out his right hand, he implores liberty; whereat the King commanding him to ſit down and declare who he was, why he dwelt there, and what was the cauſe of this his plentifull proviſion? the man with ſighs and tears, lamentably weeps out his neceſſity: and tells him that he is a *Grecian*, and whilſt he travelled about the province to get food, he was ſuddenly apprehended, and caught up by ſome ſtrange men, and brought to the temple, and there ſhût up, that he might be ſeen by no man, but be there fatted with all manner of dainties, and that theſe unexpected benefits wrought in him at the firſt joy, then ſuſpicion, after that aſtoniſhment, and laſt of all, adviſing with the Miniſter that came unto him, he underſtood that the *Iewes* every year, at a certain time appointed according to their ſecret and *ineffable* law, take up ſome Greek ſtranger, and after he hath been fed delicately for the ſpace of a whole year, they bring him into a certain wood, and kill him. Then according to their ſolem rites and ceremonies, they ſacrifice his body, and every one taſting of his intrails, in the offering

ing up of this Greek, they enter into a ſolemn oath, that they will bear an immortall feude and hatred to the Greeks. And then they caſt the reliques of this periſhing man into a certain pit. After this *Apion* makes him to ſay, that onely ſome few dayes remained to him, before his execution, & to deſire the King that he, fearing and worſhipping the Grecian gods, would revenge the bloud of his ſubjects upon the *Iewes*, and deliver him from his approaching death. This fable (ſaith *Ioſephus*) as it is moſt full of all tragedy, ſo it abounds with cruell impudence, I had rather you ſhould read the confutation of this ſlander there, then I to write it in this place, you will find it in the *Geneva* edition of *Ioſephus*, pag. 1066.

Secondly, The very ſame accuſation and horrid wickedneſſe of killing children, and eating their bloud, was of old by the ancient heathens, charg'd upon the Chriſtians, that thereby they might make them odious, and incenſe the common people againſt them, as appeares by *Tertullian* in his *Apologia contra gentes*, *Iuſtin Martyr in apologia 2. ad Anton. Euſebius Cæſareenſis* l. 5. cap. 1. & 4. *Pineda* in his *Monarchia Eccleſiaſtica* l. 11. c. 52. and many others, as is known ſufficiently. So that the imputation of this cruelty, which as to them continues onely in memory, is to the very ſame purpoſe, at this day charged upon the *Iewes*. And as they deny this fact, as being falſly charged upon them, ſo in like manner do we deny it, and I may ſay perhaps with a little more reaſon, foraſmuch as we eat not any manner of bloud, wherein they do not think themſelves obliged.

Now the reaſon of this ſlander was alwayes the *covetous ambition* of ſome, who deſiring to gain their wealth, and poſſeſſe themſelves of their eſtates, have forg'd and introduc'd this enormous accuſation, to colour their wickedneſſe, under a ſpecious pretence of revenging their own bloud. And to this purpoſe, I remember that when I reproved a Rabbi (who came out of *Poland* to *Amſterdam*) for the exceſſe of uſurie in *Germany*, and *Poland*, which they exacted of the Chriſtians, and told him how moderate they in *Holland* and in *Italy* were, he replyed, we are of neceſſity conſtrained to do ſo, becauſe they ſo often raiſe up falſe witneſſes againſt us, and levie more from us at once, then we are able to get

get again by them in many yeares. And ſo, as experience ſhews, it uſually ſucceeds with our poor people under this pretext and colour.

19. And ſo it hath been divers times; men miſchieving the *Iewes* to excuſe their own wickedneſſe; as to inſtance one precedent in the time of a certain King of *Portugal*. The Lord, bleſſed for ever, took away his ſleep one night, (as he did from King *Ahashuerus*) and he went up into a belcony in the palace, from whence he could diſcover the whole city, and from thence (the moon ſhining clear) he eſpyed two men carrying a dead corps, which they caſt into a *Iew's* yard. He preſently diſpatches a couple of ſervants, and commands them, yet with a ſeeming careleſneſſe, they ſhould trace and follow thoſe men, and take notice of their houſe; which they accordingly did. The next day there is a hurly burly and a tumult in the city, accuſing the *Iewes* of murder. Thereupon the King apprehends theſe rogues, and they confeſſe the truth; and conſidering that this buſineſſe was guided by a particular divine providence, calls ſome of the wiſe men of the *Iewes*, and asks them how they tranſlate the 4. verſe of the 121 Pſalm, and they anſwered, *Behold, he that keepeth Iſrael will neither ſlumber nor ſleep.* The King replied, if he will not ſlumber then much leſſe will he ſleep, you do not ſay well, for the true tranſlation is, *Behold, the Lord doth not ſlumber, neither will he ſuffer him that keepeth Iſrael to ſleep.* God who hath yet a care over you, hath taken away my ſleep, that I might be an eye witneſſe of that wickedneſſe which is this day laid to your charge. This with many ſuch like relations we may read in the book called *Scebet Iehuda*, how ſundry times, when our nation was at the very brink of deſtruction, for ſuch forged ſlanders, the truth hath diſcovered it ſelf for their deliverance.

20. This matter of bloud hath been heretofore diſcuſſed and diſputed before one of the Popes, at a full councell; where it was determined to be nothing elſe but a mere calumnie: and hereupon gave liberty to the *Iewes* to dwell in his countryes, and gave the princes of *Italy* to underſtand the ſame, as alſo *Alfonſo* the wiſe King of *Spain*. And ſuppoſe any one man had done ſuch a thing, as I believe never any *Iew* did ſo, yet this

were great cruelty to puniſh a whole nation for one mans wickedneſſe.

21. But why ſhould I uſe more words about this matter, ſeeing all that is come upon us, was foretold by all the prophets? *Moſes, Deut.* 28. 61. *Moreover, every ſickneſſe and every plague which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, &c. becauſe thou haſt not hearkned to the voice of the Lord thy God.* *David* in the 44. Pſalm make a dolefull complaint of thoſe evils, and ignominious reproaches, wherewith we are invironed round about in this captivity, as if we were the proper center of miſery, ſaying, *For thy ſake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as ſheep for the ſlaughter.* The ſame he ſpeaks Pſalm 74. and in other Pſalms.

Ezekiel more particularly mentions this calumnie; God, bleſſed for ever, promiſing Chap. 36. 13. that in time to come the devouring of men, or the eating of mans bloud ſhall be no more imputed to them, according to the true and proper expoſition of the learned *Don Iſaac Abarbanel.* The bleſſed God, according to the multitude of his mercies, will have compaſſion upon his people, and will take away the reproach of Iſrael from off the earth, that it may be no more heard, as is propheſied by *Iſaiah*, and let this ſuffice to have ſpoken as to this point.

THE SECOND SECTION.

YOur worſhip deſired joyntly, to know what ceremony, or humiliation the *Iewes* uſe in their Synagogues, toward the book of the Law; for which they are by ſome ignorantly reputed to be idolaters. I ſhall anſwer it in Order.

Firſt, the *Iewes* hold themſelves bound to ſtand up when the book of the Law written upon parchment, is taken out of the desk, untill it is opened on the pulpit, to ſhew it to the people, and afterwards to be read. We ſee that obſerved in *Nehemias*, cap. 8. 6. where it is ſaid, *And when he had opened it, all the people ſtood up.* and this they do in reverence to the word of God, and that ſacred Book.

For

For the ſame cauſe, when it paſſeth from the desk toward the pulpit, all that it paſſeth by, bow down their heads a little, with reverence; which can be no idolatry for theſe following reaſons.

Firſt, it is one thing *adorare, viz.* to *adore*, and another *venerari, viz.* to *worſhip*. For *Adoration* is forbidden to any creature, whether Angelicall, or Earthly; but *Worſhip* may be given to either of them, as to men of a higher rank, commonly ſtiled *worſhipfull*. And ſo *Abraham*, who in his time rooted out vain idolatry, humbled himſelf, and alſo proſtrated himſelf before thoſe three gueſts, which then he entertained for *Men*. As alſo *Ioſuah* the holy Captain of the people, did proſtrate himſelf to another Angel, which with a ſword in his hand, made him afraid, at the gates of *Iericho*. Wherefore if thoſe were juſt men, and if we are obliged to follow their example, and they were not reprehended for it, it is clear, that to worſhip the Law in this manner as we do, can be no idolatry.

Secondly, The I*ewes* are very ſcrupulous in ſuch things, and fear in the leaſt, to *appear* to give any honour or reverence to images. And ſo it is to be ſeen in the *Talmud*, and in R. *Moſes* of *Egypt* in his Treatiſe of idolatry: That if by chance any Iſraelite ſhould paſſe by a Church, that had images on the outſide, and at that time a thorn ſhould run into his foot, he may not ſtoop to pull it out, becauſe he that ſhould ſee him, might ſuſpect he bowed to ſuch an image. Therefore according to this ſtrictneſſe, if that were any appearance of idolatry to bow to the Law, the I*ewes* would utterly abhorre it; and ſince they do it, it is an evident ſign that it is none.

Thirdly, to *kiſſe images* is the principall worſhip of idolatry, as God ſaith, in the 1 of *Kings* 19. 19. *Yet* I *have left me ſeven thouſand in Iſrael, all the knees that have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth that hath not kiſſed him.* But if that were ſo, it would follow, that all men, who kiſſe the Teſtament after they are ſworn, ſhould be idolaters. But becauſe that is not ſo, ſince that act is but a ſimple worſhip, by the ſame reaſon it will follow, that to bow the head, cannot be reputed for idolatry.

Fourthly, Experience ſheweth, that in all Nations the cere-

monies that men uſe mutually one towards another, is to bow the head; And alſo there are degrees thereof, according to the quality of the perſon with whom they ſpeak; which ſhew that in the opinion of all nations, it is no idolatry, and therefore much leſſe, to reverence the Law with bowing of the body.

Fifthly, In *Aſia* (and it is the ſame almoſt in all the world) the people receiving a decree, or order of the king, they take it, and kiſſe it, and ſet it upon the head. We owe much more to Gods word, and to his divine Commandments.

Sixthly, *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, receiving the 72 *Interpreters* with the book of the Law, into his preſence, he roſe from his ſeat, and proſtrating himſelf ſeven times, worſhipped it, (as *Ariſtæus* aſſures us.) If a Gentile did this to a law which he thought did not oblige him, much more do we owe reverence to that Law which was particularly given unto us.

Seventhly, The *Iſraelites* hold for the Articles of their Faith, that there is a God; who is one in moſt ſimple unity; eternall, incorporeall; who gave the written Law unto his people Iſrael, by the hand of *Moſes*, the Prince, and chief of all the Prophets; whoſe Providence takes care for the world which he created; who takes notice of all mens works, and rewardeth or puniſheth them. Laſtly, that one day *Meſsias* ſhall come to gather together the ſcattered Iſraelites, and ſhortly after ſhall be the reſurrection of the dead.

Theſe are their Doctrines, which I believe contain not any idolatry; nor yet in the opinion of thoſe that are of other judgements; For, as a moſt learned Chriſtian of our time hath written, in a French book, which he calleth the *Rappel* of the I*ewes* (in which he makes the King of *France* to be their leader, when they ſhall return to their country,) the I*ewes*, ſaith he, ſhall be ſaved, for yet we expect a *ſecond* coming of the ſame *Meſsias*; and the I*ewes* believe that that coming is the *firſt*, and not the ſecond, and by that faith they ſhall be ſaved; for the difference conſiſts onely in the circumſtance of the time.

THE

THE THIRD SECTION.

SIr, I hope I have given ſatisfaction to your worſhip, touching thoſe points. I ſhall yet further inform you with the ſame ſincerity, concerning the reſt. *Sixtus Senenſis* in his *Bibliothæca*, lib. 2. *Titulo contra Talmud*, and others, as *Biatenſis*, *Ordine* 1. *Tract.* 1. *Titulo* Perachot. averre out of the *Talmud.* cap. 4. "that every I*ew*, thrice a day, curſeth all Chriſtians, and prayeth "to God to confound, and root them out, with their Kings and "Princes. And this is eſpecially done in the *Synagogue*, by the "I*ewes* Prieſts, thrice a day. I pray let ſuch as love the truth, ſee the *Talmud*, in the quoted place; and they ſhall find nothing of that which is objected: onely there is recited in the ſaid fourth Chapter, the daily prayer, which ſpeaks of *Minim*, that is, *Hereticks, ordained* in *Tabne*, (that is a town not farre from *Ieruſalem*, between *Gath* and *Gazim*, &c.) the Talmud hath no more. Hence *Sixtus Senenſis* by diſtillation, draws forth the foreſaid calumnie, whenas, what the *Talmud* rehearſeth briefly, to be made onely by the wiſe men in the ſaid Town, he ſaith, was a conſtitution in the *Talmud* long after.

Now let us ſee what was done by thoſe wiſe men in the ſaid Town; and let us examine, whether that may juſtly offend the Chriſtians.

There is in the daily prayers a certain Chapter where it is thus written, *la-Mumarim*, &c. that is, *For Apostates, let there be no hope, let all Hereticks be deſtroyed, and all thine enemies, and all that hate thee, let them perish. And thou shalt root out the kingdome of pride forthwith, weaken, and put it out, and in our dayes.* This whole Chapter ſpeaketh nothing of Chriſtians originally, but of the I*ewes*, who fell in thoſe times, to the *Zaduces*, and *Epicureans*, and to the Gentiles, as *Moſes* of *Egypt* ſaith, Tract. *Tephila.* cap. 2. For by Apoſtates and Hereticks are not to be underſtood all men, that are of a diverſe religion, or heathens, or Gentiles, but thoſe renegado *Iewes*, who did abrogate the whole

Law of *Moſes*, or any Articles received thence; and ſuch are properly by us called *Hereticks*. For according to the Law of Chriſtians, he is not properly an Apoſtate, or Heritick, who is originally bred a ſcholler and a candid follower from his youth of a diverſe law, and ſo continueth: otherwiſe native *Iewes* and *Hagarens*, and other Nations that are no Chriſtians, nor ever were, ſhould be properly called Apoſtates, and Hereticks in reſpect of Chriſtians, which is abſurd, as it is abſurd for the *Iewes* to call the Chriſtians Apoſtates, or Hereticks. Wherefore it ſpeaketh nothing of Chriſtians, but of the fugitive *Iewes*, that is, ſuch as have deſerted the ſtandard, or the ſacred Law.

2. Laſtly, neither the kingdomes, nor kings that are Chriſtians, or *Hagarens*, or followers of other Sects are curſed here, but namely the kingdome of Pride. Certain it is that in that time (wherein, our wiſe men added to the daily Prayers the foreſaid Chapter) there was no kingdome of Chriſtians. what therefore that kingdome of pride was, ſhould any man ask, who can plainly ly ſhew it? So much as we can conjecture by it, it is the kingdome of the *Romans* which then flouriſhed, which did rule over all Nations tyrannically and proudly, eſpecially over the *Iewes*. For, after that, *Veſpaſian*, with his ſon *Titus*, had diſſipated all *Iudea*. And though ſom *Roman* Emperours after that became Chriſtians, or had a good opinion of Chriſtianity, yet the kingdome of the *Romans* was heatheniſh, and without diſtinction, was proud, and tyrannicall. And however the *Iewes* repeated the ſame words of the prayer when the Prince was very good, and they lived under a juſt government, that they did, onely of an ancient cuſtome, without any malice to the preſent government. And now truly in all their books printed again, the foreſaid words are wanting, leſt they ſhould now be unjuſtly objected againſt the *Iewes*; and ſo for *Apoſtates* and *Hereticks*, they ſay, *ſecret accuſers, or betrayers* of the *Iewes*. And for the *kingdome of pride*, they ſubſtitute *all Zedim*, that is, *proud men*.

3. After this manner, to avoid ſcandall, did the 72 Interpreters, who coming in *Leviticus*, to unclean beaſts; in the place of *Arnebeth* which ſignifies the *Hare*, they put δασύποδα, that is, *rough foot*; leaving the Name, and keeping the ſenſe. They would not

not retein the Hebrew word *Arnebeth,* as they have done in ſome other appellatives, leſt the wife of *Ptolomy* whoſe name was *Arnebet,* ſhould think that the *Iewes* had mocked her, if they ſhould have placed her name amongſt the unclean beaſts. Neither would they render it λαγωὸν *lagoon,* or λαγὸν *lagon,* which in the Greek language ſignifies a *Hare,* leſt *Ptolomy* himſelf who was the ſon, and nephew of the *Lagi,* ſhould be offended, to ſee the name of his family regiſtred among the creatures that were unclean. Beſides, *Plutarch* records, how that it was deeply reſented, as a very high affront, and contempt, when one asked *Ptolomy,* who was *Lagus* his father, as if it ſcoffingly reflected upon his obſcure extraction and deſcent.

4. The very like calumnie fell out concerning the very ſame Chapter of our Prayer, when *Mulet Zidan* reigned in *Morocco.* A certain fugive I*ew,* to ſhew himſelf conſtant in the Mahumetan Religion, and an enemy to his own Nation, accuſed the I*ewes* before this king, ſaying, that they prayed to God for his deſtruction, when they mention in their prayers all *Zedim,* as though they would have all the Family of *Zidan* deſtroyed. They excuſed themſelves with the truth, and affirmed, in praying againſt *Zedim,* that they prayed onely againſt *proud men,* (as that word in their Hebrew language properly ſignifieth) and not againſt his Majeſty. The King admitted of their excuſe; but ſaid unto them, that becauſe of the equivocation of the word, they ſhould change it for another.

5. For certain, the I*ewes* give no occaſion, that any Prince, or Magiſtrate ſhould be offended with them; but contrariwiſe, as it ſeems to me, they are bound to love them, to defend, and protect them. For, by their *Law,* and *Talmud,* and the inviolable *cuſtome* of the diſperſed I*ewes,* every where, upon every Sabbath day, and in all yearly ſolemnities, they have prayers for Kings and Princes, under whoſe Government the I*ewes* live, be they Chriſtians, or of other Religions, I ſay by their *Law,* as I*eremiah* ch. 29. commandeth, *viz. Seek ye the peace of the city, whither* I *have cauſed you to be carried away captives, and pray for them, unto the Lord,* &c. By the *Talmud* ord. 4. Tract. 4. *Abodazara.* cap. 1. *there is a prayer for the peace of the Kingdome,* from *cuſtome,* never

never intermitted of the I*ewes*. Whereſoever they are on the Sabbath day, and their annuall ſolemnities, the Miniſter of the Synagogue before he bleſſeth the people of the I*ewes*, doth with a loud voice, bleſſe the Prince of the country under whom they live, that all the I*ewes* may hear it; and they ſay Amen. You have ſeen the Form of the prayer in the book entitled The humble Addreſſes.

6. In like manner the ancients obſerve, that whereas God commands in *Numbers* 29. 13. that ſeventy bullocks ſhould be ſacrificed upon the ſeven dayes of the feaſt of tabernacles, that this was in reſpect of the ſeventy nations (who ſhall one day come up to I*eruſalem*, year after year, to keep this feaſt of tabernacles, *Zechar.* 14. 16.) for whoſe conſervation they alſo ſacrificed. For they ſay, that *all the nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed in Abraham, and in his ſeed, not onely ſpiritually, and in the knowledge of the one firſt cauſe, but alſo that at this time they ſhall enjoy temporall, and earthly bleſsings, by vertue of that promiſe.* And ſo in the time of the ſecond temple, they offered up ſacrifice for their confederate nations, as may appear by theſe enſuing inſtances.

In *Megilat Tahanit.* cap. 9. it is reported, that when *Alexander* the great, at the inſtigation of the *Samaritans*, that inhabited mount *Gerizim*, went with a reſolution to deſtroy the temple, *Simeon* the juſt met him in the way, and amongſt divers reaſons that he urged to divert him from his purpoſe, told him, *this is the place, where we pray unto God for the welfare of your ſelf, and of your kingdome, that it may not be deſtroyed, and ſhall theſe men perſwade you to deſtroy this place?*

The like we find in the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, cap. 7. 33. and in I*oſephus* his Antiq. *lib.* 12. *cap.* 17. when *Demetrius* had ſent *Nicanor* the Generall of his army againſt J*eruſalem*, the Prieſts, with the Elders of the people went forth to ſalute him, and to ſhew him the ſacrifice which they offered up to God for the welfare of the King.

In the ſame hiſtory *lib.* 2. 3. and in J*oſephus Gorionides* lib. 3. cap. 16. we may read, that *Heliodorus* Generall to *Selencus*, came to J*eruſalem* with the ſame intent, *Onias* the High-prieſt, beſought him, not to deſtroy that place, where they prayed to God for the

the prosperity of the King, and his issue, and for the conservation of his kingdome.

In the first Chapter of *Baruch*, the disciple of *Jeremiah*, we find that the I*ewes*, who were first carried captive into *Babylon* with I*echonias*, made a collection of money, according to every ones power, and sent it to J*erusalem*, saying, *Behold, we have sent you money, wherewith ye shall buy offerings, and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar, and for the life of Baltasar his sonne, that their dayes may be upon earth as the dayes of heaven, and that God would give us strength, and lighten our eyes, that we may live under their shadow, that we may long do them service, and find favour in their sight.*

The I*ewes* in *Asia* did the same, as is reported by J*osephus Gorionides*, lib. 3. cap. 4. they sent letters, with a present to *Hircanus* the High-priest, desiring that prayers might be made for the life of *Augustus Cæsar*, and his companion *Marcus Antonius*.

Philo J*udæus*, in the book of his Embassage to *Caius*, making mention of a letter which *Caius* sent, requiring his statue to be set up in the sacred temple, and *Agrippa's* answer thereupon, unto the said Emperour, reports, that there were these words in it, *viz. The* I*ewes sacrifice for the prosperity of your Empire, and that not onely upon their solemn feasts, but also every day.*

The like is recorded by J*osephus*, (lib. 2. cap. 9. *De bello* J*udaico*) the I*ewes* said to *Petronius* Generall to the Emperour *Caius*, we *daily offer up burnt offerings unto God, for the peace of the Emperour, and the whole people of Rome.* And in his second book against *Apion*, he sayes, *we Hebrews have allwayes accustomed to honour Emperours with particular sacrifices.*

Neither was this service ever entertained unthankfully, as appears by the decree of *Cyrus*, *Ezra* 6. 3. where also *Darius* commands, that *of the Kings goods, even of the tribute, expences should be forth-with given unto the Elders of the* I*ewes* &c. *and that which they had need of, both young bullocks, and rammes, and lambs for the burnt-offerings of the Lord of heaven, and wheat, salt, wine, and oyl,* &c. *that they might offer sacrifices of a sweet savour, unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of his sonnes.*

The same also was commanded afterwards by *Artaxerxes*, who also conferred liberally many large gifts, as well towards the

building of the temple, as the maintaining of the ſacrifices. As for *Alexander* the great, he lighted down out of his chariot, and bowed himſelf at the feet of the High-prieſt, deſiring him to offer up ſacrifice to God on his behalf. And who can be ignorant of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, how richly he endowed the temple, as is recorded by *Ariſteas*? Nor did *Antiochus* king of the *Greeks* unlike this, when by a publick edict, he forbid *that any ſtranger ſhould enter the temple, to prophane that place, which the Hebrews had conſecrated to religion, and divine worſhip.* (Joſephus *lib.* 12. *cap.* 3.) *Demetrius* did the like, (*Joſephus* lib. 13. cap. 5. 6.) To which may be added, that when they of *Ieruſalem* contended with them of *Samaria*, about the honour and dignity of the temple, before *Alexander* the great, the *Ieruſalem* Prieſt in his plea, urged, *that this temple was ever had in great reverence by all the Kings of* Aſia, *and by them enricht with ſundry ſplendid and magnificent gifts.* In the ſecond book of *Ioſephus* againſt *Apion*, we read, that *Ptolomy Euergetes*, when he had conquered *Syria*, offered up *Euchariſticall ſacrifices*, not to idols, and falſe Gods, but to the true God, at *Ieruſalem*, according to the manner of the *Iewes*. *Pompey* the great, as is mentioned by *Ioſephus de bello Iudaico* (lib. 1. cap. 5.) durſt not ſpoyl, no nor ſo much as touch the treaſures of the temple, not becauſe (as *Tully* in his Oration for *Plancius* ſuppoſeth, to whom *Auguſtine* in his book *de civitate Dei aſſentos*) he feared leſt he might be thought too avaritious; for this ſeems in compariſon, very ridiculous, and childiſh; for military law would ſoon have acquitted him for this; but becauſe of the reverence to the place with which his mind was ſo affected. *Philo Iudæus*, (p. 102. 6.) relates a letter of *Agrippa's*, where he writes, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* had the temple in ſo great reverence, that he commanded a ſacrifice of one bullock, and two lambs, to be offered up every day out of his own revenues. And his wife *Iulia Auguſta*, adorn'd it with golden cups, and baſons, and many other coſtly gifts. Neither did *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, fall ſhort of her liberallity. *Tiberius* throughout the 22 years of his Empire, commanded ſacrifices to be offered up unto God, out of his own tribute. The like did *Nero*, till the unadviſed raſhneſſe of *Eleazar* in refuſing his ſacrifice, alienated the mind of the Emperour, that he became the cauſe of a bloudy perſecution. And

And by all this, we may the better interpret that 11 verſe of the 1. chap. of *Malachy*) who flouriſht in the ſecond temple,) The words are, *From the riſing of the ſun, even unto the going down of the ſame, my name ſhall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name ſhall be great among the heathen, ſaith the Lord of hoſts.* For beſides that the heathens termed the temple *the houſe of the great God*, (*Ezra* 5. 8.) they and their Monarchs, and Emperours, both of *Perſia, Grece*, and *Rome*, deſired, as we have heard, to have ſacrifices, and incenſe, offered for them in Gods name.

9. And let the reader be pleaſed further to obſerve, that the *Iewes* were accuſtomed, not onely to offer up ſacrifices, and prayers to God, for the Emperours, their friends, confederates, and allyes, but alſo generally for the whole world. It is the cuſtome (ſaith *Agrippa* to *Caius* according to *Philo* p. 1035.) for the High-prieſt, at the day of attonement, to make a prayer unto God, for all mankind; beſeeching him to adde unto them another year, with bleſſing and peace. The ſame *Philo Iudæus* in his ſecond book of *Monarchy* ſaith, *The prieſts of other nations pray unto God onely for the welfare of their own particular nations, but our High-prieſt prayes for the happineſſe and proſperity of the whole world.* And in his book of ſacrifices, p. 836. he ſaith, *Some ſacrifices are offered up for our nation, and ſome for all mankind. For the daily ſacrifices, twice a day*; viz. *at morning, and evening, are for the obtaining of thoſe good things, which God the chief good, grants unto them, at thoſe two times of the day.*

And in like manner, *Ioſephus* in his ſecond book againſt *Apion* ſaith, *We ſacrifice, and pray unto the Lord, in the firſt place, for the whole world, for their proſperity, and peace, and afterwards more particularly for our ſelves, foraſmuch (as we conceive) that prayer which is firſt extended univerſally, and is afterwards put up more particularly, is very much acceptable unto God.* Which words are alſo related by *Euſebius Cæſareenſis*, in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, lib. 8. cap. 2.

10. 'Tis true, that no outward materiall glories are perpetuall; and ſo the *temple* had its period, and with the *paſchall lamb*, all other ſacrifices ceaſed: But in their ſtead, we have at this day *prayer*, and as *Hoſeah* ſpeaks Cap. 14. 2. For bullocks, we render

the calves of our lips. And three times every day, this is our humble ſupplication, and requeſt to God, *Fill the whole world, O Lord, with thy bleſſings; for all creatures are the works of thy hands; as it is written, the Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works* Pſal. 145. 9.

11. Yea further, we pray for the converſion of the nations, and ſo we ſay in theſe moſt excellent prayers, upon *Roſ a ſana* and the day of attonement, *Our God, and the God of our Fathers, reign thou over the whole world in thy glory; and be thou exalted over all the earth, in thine excellency; cauſe thy influence to deſcend upon all the inhabitants of the world, in the glorious majeſty of thy ſtrength; and let every creature know that thou haſt created him; and let every thing that is formed, underſtand that thou haſt formed it; and let all that have breath in their noſtrills ſay, the Lord God of Iſrael reigneth, and his kingdome is over all dominions.* And again, *Let all the inhabitants of the earth know, and ſee, that unto thee every knee ſhall bow, and every tongue ſwear; before thee, O Lord our God, let them bow, and proſtrate themſelves; let them give honour to the honour of thy name, and let them all take upon them the yoak of thy kingdome,* &c. And again, *Put thy fear, O Lord, our God, upon all thy works, and thy dread upon all that thou haſt created; let all thy works fear thee, and let all creatures bow down before thee and let them all make themſelves one handfull,* (that is, with joynt conſent) *to do thy will with a perfect heart,* &c. A moſt worthy imitation of the wiſe King *Solomon,* who after he had finiſhed the building of the Temple, in that long prayer *King.* 1. 8. was not unmindfull of the Gentiles, but v. 41. he ſaith, *Moreover, concerning a ſtranger, that is not of thy people of Iſrael, but cometh out of a farre country, for thy names ſake, for they ſhall hear of thy great name, and of thy ſtrong hand, and of thy ſtretched-out arm, when he ſhall come, and pray towards this houſe, hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the ſtranger calleth to thee for, that all people of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, as do the people of Iſrael, and that they may know that thy name is called upon this houſe which I have builded.* Where it may be obſerved, that when the Iſraelite comes to pray, he ſaith, 29. *and give every man according to his wayes;* but upon the prayer of a ſtranger, he ſaith, *and do according to all that the ſtranger*

ſtranger calleth to thee for. And this diſtinction is made to this end, that by the evident, and apparent return, and anſwer of their prayers, all Gentiles might effectually be brought in to the truth, and knowledge, and fear of God, as well as the Iſraelites.

12. Moreover, ſince the holy prophets made prayers, and ſupplications for all men, as well for the *nations*, as the *Iſraelites*, how ſhould not we do the ſame, for the nations, among whom we inhabit, as ingaged by a more eſpeciall obligation, for that we live under their favour and protection? In *Deuteronomy* 23. 7. God commands *Thou ſhalt not abhorre an Egyptian*, notwithſtanding the heavy burthens they afflicted us with, onely *becauſe thou waſt a ſtranger in his land*, becauſe that at the firſt, they entertained, and received us into their country.

As on the other ſide, *Ezek.* 23. 11. he ſaith, *As I live, ſaith the Lord God, I have no pleaſure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.* We ought therefore to imitate his actions, and not to hate any man, upon the mere account of religion, but onely to pray to the Lord for his converſion; and this alſo, without giving offence, or any kind of moleſtation. To deteſt, or abhorre thoſe, to whom we owe that proſperity which we enjoy, or who endeavour their own ſalvation, is a thing very unworthy, and ill becoming; but to abhorre their vices, and ſins, is not ſo. It was a very excellent obſervation, of a moſt wiſe, and vertuous Lady, *Beruria*, who (as it is recorded in the *Talmud*, *Berachot* cap. 1. when her husband *R. Meir* was about to pray to God, to deſtroy ſome of his perverſe, and froward neighbours, that had no leſſe grievouſly, then maliciouſly vexed, and moleſted him, gave him this ſeaſonable admonition, that ſuch a thing *ought not to be done in Iſrael; but that he ſhould rather make his prayer, that they might return, and break off their ſinnes by repentance, alledging that text*, Pſal. 104. 35. *Let ſin be conſumed out of the earth;* it is not ſaid *ſinners*, but *ſinnes;* and then *the wicked ſhall be no more.*

13. We have now in this Section ſhewn, that it is a mere calumnie to imagine, that we *Iewes* ſhould pray to God, ſo as to give an offence to the Chriſtians, or cauſe ſcandall, by any thing in

our prayers, unleſſe it be that we are not Chriſtians. we have declared to the contrary, how we daily pray for them. As alſo that during the temple, we offered up ſacrifices, for nations confederate with us, and how all Emperours deſired this. Yea, and we offered ſacrifices, not onely for particular princes, but for all mankind in generall. How, ſince ſacrifices ceaſed, with the temple, we at this day, do the ſame in our prayers, and how we beſeech God for their ſalvation, without giving any ſcandall, or offence in reſpect of religion; and how we think our ſelves obliged to perform all this, by the ſacred Scripture. By all which layed together, I hope I have ſufficiently evidenced the truth, of that I have aſſerted.

THE FOURTH SECTION.

BY conſequence, the accuſation of *Buxtorphius,* in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinorum,* can have no appearance of truth, concerning that which he puts upon us, *viz.* that we are *blaſphemers.* I will ſet down the Prayer it ſelf.

"We are bound to praiſe the Lord of all things; to magnifie "him, who made the world, for that he hath not made us, as the "Nations of the earth; nor hath he placed us as the families of "the earth; nor hath he made our condition like unto theirs, nor "our lot, according to all their multitude. For they humble "themſelves to things of no worth, and vanity, and make their "prayers to gods that cannot ſave them; but we worſhip before "the King of kings, that is holy, and bleſſed; that ſtretch-"ed forth the Heavens, and framed the Earth; the ſeat of his glo-"ry is in heaven above, and his divine ſtrength in the higheſt of "the Heavens; He is our God, and there is no other; He is tru-"ly, our King, and beſides him, there is no other; as it is writ-"ten in the Law. And know this day, and return into thine own "heart, becauſe the Lord is God, in Heaven above, and upon the "Earth beneath, there is no other.

Truly, in my opinion, it is a very ſhort, and moſt excellent prayer,

prayer, and worthy of commendation. The *Sultan Selim*, that famous conquerour, and Emperour of the *Mahumetans*, made ſo much account of it, that he commanded his Doctor *Moſes Amon*, (who tranſlated the *Pentateuch* into the *Arabian* and *Perſian* languages) that he ſhould tranſlate our prayers. And when he had delivered them to him in the *Turkish* Tongue, he ſaid to him, what need is there of ſo long prayers? truly this one might ſuffice, he did ſo highly eſteem and value it. This is like an other prayer which was made at that time, *viz.*

"Bleſſed be our God, who created us for his honour, and ſe-
"parated us from thoſe that are in errours, and gave unto us a
"Law of truth, and planted amongſt us eternall life. Let him
"open our hearts in his law, and put his love in our hearts, and
"his fear, to do his will, and to ſerve him with a perfect heart,
"that we may not labour in vain, nor beget children of perdi-
"tion. Let it be thy will, O Lord our God, and God of our Fa-
"thers, that we may keep thy ſtatutes, and thy laws in this world,
"and may deſerve, and live, and inherit well, and that we may at-
"tain the bleſſing of the world to come, that ſo we may ſing
"to thy honour, without ceaſing. O Lord my God, I will praiſe
"thee for ever.

But neither the one, nor the other is a *blaſphemy*, or malediction againſt any other Gods, for theſe reaſons following.

1. It is not the manner of the *Iewes* by their law to curſe other gods by name, though they be of the *Gentiles*. So in *Exod.* cap. 22. 27. *Thou shalt not revile the Gods.* Heb. אלהים, that is *Gods*, or God, as *Philo Iudæus in libro de Monarchiâ*, doth interpret, and not Judges, as *Onkelus* and *Ionathan* tranſlate in their *Chald.* Paraphr. Where *Philo* addes this reaſon, which is, leſt they hearing their own Gods blaſphemed, ſhould in a revengefull way of retaliation, blaſpheme the true God of Iſrael. And we have examples enough, how the idolatrous heathen uſed to revile, and defame each others Gods, both in *Cicero*, and *Iuvenal.*

And in that ſenſe *Flavius Joſephus* in his book written againſt *Apion*, ſaith theſe words: "As it is our practiſe to obſerve our
"own, and not to accuſe, or revile others; ſo neither may we de-
"ride, or blaſpeeme thoſe, which others account to be Gods.
"Our

"Our Law-giver plainly forbad us that, by reaſon of that com-
"pellation, Gods. According to this, by our own religion, we dare not do that which *Buxtorfius* chargeth us with. And upon this account the Talmudiſts tell us, that we ought to honour, and reverence, not onely the Kings of Iſrael, but all kings, princes, and governours, in generall, foraſmuch as the holy Scripture gives them the ſtile of gods, in reſpect of the dignity of their office.

2. The time wherein theſe, as alſo the other prayers were compoſed, and ordered, was in the dayes of *Ezras*, who, with 120 men, amongſt whom were three Prophets, *Haggai, Zechary, Malachy*, compoſed them, as we have it in the *Talmud*. Wherefore he cannot ſay, that there is any thing intended againſt honour, or reverence of Chriſt, who was not born till many yeares after.

Moreover, the *Iewes*, ſince that calumny was firſt raiſed, (thouh that was ſpoken of the Gentiles, and their vain gods, *humbling themſelves to things of no worth, and vanity*) becauſe they deſire to decline, and avoid the leaſt occaſion of ſcandall, and offence, have left off to print that line, and do not in ſome books print any part thereof. As *John Hoornbeek* alſo witneſſes, in his fore-mentioned *Prolegomena*, and *William Dorſtius*, in his obſervations upon *R. David Gawz*, p. 269. and *Buxtorf* in his book of *Abbreviatures*. And perhaps it will be worthy our obſervation, that all theſe three witneſſes ſay, that it was firſt made known to them, by one *Antonius Margarita*, who was a *Iew*, converted to the Chriſtian faith. That this part of the prayer was intended *Contra idola Papatus*, againſt the *Popish idols*, which they therefore, as by a neceſſary conſequence, interpret, as againſt *Chriſt;* but how juſtly, let the unprejudiced and unbiaſed reader judge.

3. If this be ſo, how can it be thought, that in their *Synagogues*, they name him with ſcornfull ſpitting, (farre be it from us.) The Nation of the *Iewes* is *wiſe, and ingenius*. So ſaid the Lord, *Deut.* cap. 4. 6. *The Nations ſhall ſay, ſurely this is a wiſe, and an underſtanding people*. Therefore, how can it be ſuppoſed, that they ſhould be ſo bruitiſh in a ſtrange land, when their Religion dependeth not upon it? Certainly, it is much contrary to the precept we ſpake of, to ſhew any reſemblance of ſcorn. There was never

never any ſuch thing done, (as it is well known) in *Italy*, and *Holland*, where ordinarily the *Synagogues* are full of *Chriſtians;* which with great attention, ſtand conſidering, and weighing all their actions, and motions. And truly they ſhould have found great occaſion to find fault withall, if that were ſo. But never was any man heard thus to calumniate us, where ever we dwell and inhabite, which is a reaſon ſufficiently valid, to clear us. Wherefore, I ſuppoſe, that I have ſufficiently informed you, concerning our prayers, in which we purpoſe nothing, but to praiſe God, and to ask ſpirituall, and temporall bleſſings, and by our ſervice, and worſhip, implore the divine benevolence, protection, and defence.

THE FIFTH SECTION.

BUt foraſmuch as it is reported, that we draw, and ſeduce others to our religion, *&c.*

1. Never unto this day, in any part hath this been ſuſpected, where the I*ewes* are diſperſed; nor can it find place here. Truly, I have held friendſhip with many great men, and the wiſeſt, and moſt eminent of all *Europe;* and alſo they came to ſee me, from many places, at my houſe, and I had many friendly diſcourſes with them, yet did not this give occaſion to make us ſuſpected of any ſuch things. Yea, *Gaſpar Barleus,* the *Virgill* of our time, and many others, have written many verſes in my commendations, which I mention not, for vain glory (farre be it) but for vindication of my innocent repute.

2. By our rituall books we are clear of this ſeducing. For if any man offer to become a I*ew,* of what Nation ſoever he be, before we receive him, and admit him as a member of our Synagogue, we are bound to conſider, whether he be moved by neceſſity to do it, or if it be not for that he is in love with ſome of our nation, or for any other worldly reſpect. And when we find no reaſon to ſuſpect him, we have yet another obligation upon us, which is, to let him know the penalties he ſubjects himſelf unto, if he breaketh the

Sabbath, or eateth bloud, or fat, which is forbidden *Levit.* 3. 17. or diſannulleth any precept of the Law, as may be ſeen in the *Targum* upon *Ruth.* And if he ſhew himſelf conſtant, and zealous, then is he admitted and protected. Wherefore we do not ſeduce any one, but contrarily, avoid diſputing with men, concerning religion, not for want of charity, but that we may as farre as it is poſſible, avoid ſcandall, and hate; and for this cauſe we refuſe to circumciſe them that come to us, becauſe we will give no offence. Yea, I have known ſome, that for this cauſe have circumciſed themſelves. And if *Ferdinand* and I*ſabella*, King and Queen of *Caſtile* did make an order to expell the I*ewes*, becauſe they ſeduced many Chriſtians, and ſome of the Nobility to become I*ewes*, this was but a pretence, and colour for their tyranny, and onely, as it is well known, having no other thing to object againſt us. Truly, I do much commend that opinion, not onely of *Oſorius*, *de rebus* I*mmanuelis*, but of our *Flavius Ioſephus*, the moſt famous of all Hiſtorians, which he relates in his hiſtory of his own Life.

"At that time (ſaith he) there came unto me, two Noble men, "of the *Trachomites*, ſubjects of the king; bringing with them "horſemen, with arms, and money. Theſe, when the I*ewes* would "compell to be circumciſed, if they would live amongſt them; "I would not ſuffer them to trouble them; maintaining that eve- "ry man ought to ſerve God, of his own free will, and not be for- "ced thereto by others. For, ſhould we do this thing (ſaith he) "it might make them repent, that ever they fled unto us. And ſo "perſwading the multitude, I did abundantly afford unto theſe "men, their food, according to their diet.

Truly, this was an action worthy of a noble, and wiſe man, and worthy of imitation, for defending common liberty, leaving the judgement, and determination to God alone. The *Spanish Inquiſitions*, with all their torments, and cruelties, cannot make any *Iew*, that falls into their power, become a *Chriſtian.* For unreaſonable beaſts are taught by blowes, but men are taught by reaſon. Nor are men perſwaded to other opinions, by torments, but rather, on the contrary, they become more firm, and conſtant in their Tenet.

THE

THE SIXTH SECTION.

HAving thus diſcuſſed the main exceptions, I will now proceed to ſmaller matters, though leſſe pertaining to my faculty, that is to buſineſſe of *Merchandiſe*. Some ſay, that if the *Iewes* come to dwell here, they will draw unto themſelves the whole Negotiation, to the great damage of the naturall Inhabitants. I anſwer, that it hath been my opinion alwayes, (with ſubmiſſion to better judgements) that it can be no prejudice at all to the Engliſh Nation: becauſe, principally in tranſporting their goods, they would gain much, by reaſon of the publick payments of cuſtomes, exciſe, *&c.*

Moreover, they would alwayes bring profit to the people of the land, as well in buying of commodities, which they would tranſport to other places, as in thoſe they would trade in here. And if by accident, any particular perſon ſhould loſe by it, by bringing down the price of ſuch a commodity, being diſperſed into many hands; yet by that means the Commonwealth would gain in buying cheaper, and procuring it at a leſſer rate.

Yea, great emolument would grow to the naturall Inhabitants, as well in the ſale of all proviſion, as in all things elſe that concern the ornaments of the body. Yea, and the native Mechanicks alſo would gain by it, (there being rarely found among us, any man that uſeth any ſuch art.)

2. Adde to this, that as our nation hath ſailed into almoſt all parts of the world, ſo they are alwayes herein profitable to a nation, in a readineſſe to give their opinions, in favour of the people amongſt whom they live. Beſide that, all ſtrangers do bring in new merchandiſes, together with the knowledge of thoſe forreign Countries wherein they were born.

And this is ſo farre from damnifying the natives, that it conduces much to their advantage; becauſe they bring from their countryes new commodities, with new knowledge. For the great Work-Maſter, and *Creatour* of all things, to the end, to make

commerce in the earth, gave not to every place all things, but hath parted his benefits amongſt them; by which way, he hath made them all wanting the help of others. This may be ſeen in *England*, which being one of the moſt plentifull countries that are in the world, yet wanteth divers things for *shipping*; as alſo, wine, oyl, figs, almonds, raiſins, and all the drougs of *India*, things ſo neceſſary for the *life of man*. And beſides, they want many other commodities, which are abundant in other countries, with more knowledge of them; though it be true, that in my opinion, there is not in the world, a more underſtanding people, for moſt Navigations, and more capable of all Negotiation, then the *English* Nation are.

3. Farther, there may be companies made of the natives, and ſtrangers, (where they are more acquainted) or elſe Factors. All which, if I be not deceived, will amount to the profit of the natives. For which, many reaſons may be brought, though I cannot comprehend them, having alwayes lived a ſedentary life, applying my ſelf to my ſtudies, which are farre remote from things of that nature.

4. Nor can it be juſtly objected againſt our Nation, that they are deceivers; becauſe the generality cannot in any rationall way, be condemned for ſome particulars. I cannot excuſe them all, nor do I think, but there may be ſome deceivers amongſt them, as well as amongſt all other nations and people, becauſe poverty bringeth baſeneſſe along with it.

5. But if we look to that which we ought by our Religion, the morall precept of the Decalogue, *Thou shalt not ſteal*, it belongs in common to all *Iewes*, towards all *Gentiles*. As may be ſeen in Rab. *Moſes* of *Egypt*, Tract, *Geneba*, cap. 1. and *Gazela*. cap. 1. *It is a ſinne*, (ſaith he) *to rob any man, though he be a Gentile*. Nor can that be alledged out of the ſacred Hiſtory, concerning the jewells and houſhold ſtuff, of which the *Israelites* ſpoiled the *Egyptians*, as I have heard it ſometimes alledged by ſome, to ſome men; becauſe that was a particular diſpenſation, and a divine precept for that time. So it is recorded in the *Talmud*, in the *Tract of the Sanhedrim*, cap. 11. that in the time of *Alexander* the great, thoſe of *Alexandria* accuſed the *Iewes* for being thieves, and they de-

demanded reſtitution of their goods. But *Guebia Ben Peſria* anſwered them, our Fathers went down into *Egypt* but ſeventy ſouls, there they grew a numerous nation, above 60000. and ſerved them in baſe offices, for the ſpace of 210 yeares, according to this, pay us for our labour, and make the accounts even, and you ſhall ſee you are yet much in our debt. The reaſon ſatisfied *Alexander*, and he acquitted them.

6. By conſequence, the *Iewes* are bound not to defraud, nor abuſe in their accounts, negotiation, or reckonings, any man whatſoever, as it may be ſeen expreſly in R. *Moſes* of *Egypt*, and R. *Moſeh de Koſi* in *Samag*.

7. Yea, they farther ſay, that by reſtitutions, there is a reſult to the praiſe of God, and the ſacred Law. whence that holy, and wiſe man, R. *Simeon Ben Satah*, having bought an aſſe of a Gentile, the head ſtall whereof was a jewell of great value, which the owner knew not of, afterwards he found it, and freely, and for nothing, he reſtored it to the ſeller, that knew not of it, ſaying, I bought the aſſe, but not the jewell. Whence there did accrue honour to God, and his Law, and to the nation of the *Iewes*, as *Midras Raba* reports in *Paraſot Hekel*.

8. After the ſame manner they command, that the oath which they ſhall make to any other nation, muſt be with truth, and juſtice, and muſt be kept in every particular. And for proof thereof, they quote the hiſtory of *Zedekias*, whom God puniſhed, and deprived of his kingdome, becauſe he kept not his word, and *oath*, made to *Nebuchadnezzar, in the name of God*, though he were a *Gentile*, as it is ſaid, 2 of *Chronicles*, cap. 36. 13. *And he alſo rebelled againſt Nebuchadnezzar, who made him ſwear by God.*

9. Theſe are the laws and obligations which the *Iewes* hold. So that the Law that forbids the *Iewes* to *kill* any *Gentiles*, forbids them alſo to *ſteal* from them. Yet every one muſt look to it, for the world is full of fraud in all Nations. I remember a pretty ſtory of what paſſed in *Morocco*, in the Court of the king of *Mauritania*. There was a *Iew* that had a ſort of falſe ſtones, *&c.*—He making a truck with a *Portugal* Chriſtian, for ſome Verdigreaſe that he had, which was much ſofiſticated, (as they are wont to do there) being all falſified with Earth; one of the *Portugals* friends

laughed at him, ſaying, the *Iew* fitted thee well; he anſwered, If the *Iew* hath ſtoned me, I have buried him. And ſo they ordinarily mock one another.

This I can affirm, that many of the I*ewes*, becauſe they would not break with other mens goods, were very poor at *Amſterdam*, lived very poorly, and thoſe that did break with other mens goods by neceſſity, became ſo much the more miſerable, that they were forced to live on almes.

And whereas in the time of K. *Edward* 1. the *Iewes* were accuſed of clipping the Kings coin; it appears that this accuſation drew its originall mainly from the ſuſpicion and hatred the Chriſtians bare againſt the I*ewes*, as appeares in the ſtory, as it is ſet forth by Mr. *Prynne*, I*n his ſecond part of a Short Demurrer to the* I*ewes* &c. p. 82. where quoting *Clauſ. 7. E. 1. n. 7. De fine recipiendo à Iudæis*, brings in the King, writing to his Judges in Latine, in theſe words. *Rex dilectis, & fidelibus ſuis* Stephano de Penteceſter, Waltero de Helyn. *&* Th. de Cobham I*uſticiariis ad placita tranſgreſſionis monetæ audienda, ſalutem. Quia omnes* Judæi *nuper rectati, & per certam ſuſpicionem indictati de retonſura monetæ noſtræ, & inde convicti cum ultimo ſupplicio puniuntur; & quidam eorum eadem occaſione, omnia bona, & catalla ſua ſatisfecerunt, & in priſona noſtra liberabantur, in eadem ad voluntatem noſtram detinendi. Et cum accepimus, quod plures Chriſtiani ob ODIVM* Judæorum, *propter diſcrepantiam fidei Chriſtianæ, & ritus* Judæorum, *& diverſa gratia minus per ipſos* Judæos *Chriſtianis hactenus illata, poſtquam* Judæos *nondum rectatos in indictatos de tranſgreſsione monetæ, per levas, & voluntarias accuſationes accuſare, & indictare de die in diem nituntur, & proponunt, imponendas eis ad terrorem ipſorum, quod de ejuſmodi tranſgreſſione culpabiles exiſtunt ſuper ipſos* Judæos *faciendæ, & ſic per minas hujuſmodi accuſationis, ipſis* Judæos *metu incutiant, & pecuniam extorqueant ab eiſdem; Ita quod ipſi* Judæi *ſuper hoc, ad legem ſuam ſæpe ponuntur in vitæ ſuæ periculum manifeſtum. Volumus quod omnes* Judæi *qui ante primum diem* Maii *proximo præterit, indictati, vel per certam ſuſpicionem rectati non fuerunt de tranſgreſsione monetæ predictæ, & qui facere voluerint finem juxta diſcretionem Veſtram, ad opus noſtrum facere pro ſic, quod non occaſiorentur, &c. hujuſmodi tranſgreſsionibus factis ante primum diem* Maii *prop-*

propter novas accuſationes Chriſtianorum poſt eundem diem inde factas non molestentur, ſed pacem inde habeant in futurum. Proviſo, quod Judæi *indictati, vel per certam ſuſpicionem, rectati de hujuſmodi tranſgreſsione ante prædictum diem* Maii, *Iudicium ſubeant coram vobis, juxta formam prius inde ordinatam & proviſam. Et ideo vobis maneamus, quod fines hujuſmodi capiatis, & præmiſſa fieri, & obſervari faciatis in forma prædicto. Teste Rege apud* Cantuar. 8. *die* Maii.

THE SEVENTH SECTION.

AND now by this time, I preſume (moſt noble Sir) I may have given abundant ſatisfaction, (ſo farre as the nature of an epiſtle will permit) to all your objections, without giving juſt ground of offence, or ſcandall to any. And foraſmuch as you are further deſirous to know ſomewhat, concerning the ſtate of this my expedition, and negotiation at preſent, I ſhall now onely ſay, and that briefly, that the communication and correſpondence I have held, for ſome yeares ſince, with ſome eminent perſons of *England,* was the firſt originall of my undertaking this deſign. For I alwayes found by them, a great probability of obtaining what I now requeſt; whilſt they affirmed, that at this time the minds of men ſtood very well affected towards us; and that our entrance into this Iſland, would be very acceptable, and well-pleaſing unto them. And from this beginning ſprang up in me a ſemblable affection, and deſire of obtaining this purpoſe. For, for ſeven yeares on this behalf, I have endeavoured, and ſollicited it, by letters, and other means, without any intervall. For I conceived, that our univerſall diſperſion was a neceſſary circumſtance, to be fulfilled, before all that ſhall be accompliſhed which the Lord hath promiſed to the people of the *Iewes,* concerning their reſtauration, and their returning again into their own land, according to thoſe words *Dan.*12.7. *When he ſhall have accomplished to ſcatter the power of the holy people, all theſe things ſhall be finished.* As alſo, that this our ſcattering, by little, and little, ſhould be amongſt all people, from the *one end of the earth even unto the other;* as it is written *Deut.* 28. 64. I conceived that by the *end of the earth* might be underſtood this *Iſland.* And I knew not, but that the Lord

Lord who often works by naturall meanes, might have deſign'd, and made choice of me, for the bringing about this work. With theſe propoſalls therefore, I applyed my ſelf, in all zealous affection to the *English Nation,* congratulating their glorious liberty which at this day they enjoy, together with their proſperous peace. And I entituled my book named *The hope of Iſrael,* to the firſt Parliament, and the Council of State. And withall declared my intentions. In order to which they ſent me a very favourable paſſe-port. Afterwards I directed my ſelf to the ſecond, and they alſo ſent me another. But at that juncture of time my coming was not preſently performed, for that my kindred and friends, conſidering the checquered, and interwoven viciſſitudes, and turns of things here below, embracing me, with preſſing importunity, earneſtly requeſted me not to part from them, and would not give over, till their love conſtrained me to promiſe, that I would yet a while ſtay with them. But notwithſtanding all this, I could not be at quiet in my mind, (I know not but that it might be through ſome particular divine providence) till I had anew made my humble addreſſes to his Highneſſe the Lord Protector (whom God preſerve.) And finding that my coming over would not be altogether unwelcome to him, with thoſe great hopes which I conceived, I joyfully took my leave of my houſe, my friends, my kindred, all my advantages there, and the country wherein I have lived all my life time, under the benign protection, and favour of the Lords, the States Generall, and Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam; in fine* (I ſay) I parted with them all, and took my voyage for *England.* Where, after my arrivall, being very courteouſly received, and treated with much reſpect, I preſented to his moſt Serene Highneſſe, a petition, and ſome deſires, which for the moſt part, were written to me by my brethren the *Iewes,* from ſeverall parts of *Europe,* as your worſhip may better underſtand by former relations. Whereupon it pleaſed his Highneſſe to convene an Aſſembly at *Whitehall,* of Divines, Lawyers, and Merchants, of different perſwaſions, and opinions. Whereby mens judgements, and ſentences were different. Inſomuch, that as yet, we have had no finall determination from his moſt Serene Highneſſe. Wherefore thoſe few *Iewes* that were here, deſpairing of

of our expected ſucceſſe, departed hence. And others who deſired to come hither, have quitted their hopes, and betaken themſelves ſome to *Italy*, ſome to *Geneva*, where that Commonwealth hath at this time, moſt freely granted them many, and great priviledges.

Now, O moſt high God, to thee I make my prayer, even to thee, the God of our Fathers. Thou who haſt been pleaſed to ſtile thy ſelf *the keeper of Iſrael;* Thou who haſt graciouſly promiſed, by thy holy Prophet *Ieremiah*, (cap. 31.) *that thou wilt not caſt off all the ſeed of Iſrael, for all the evill that they have done;* thou who by ſo many ſtupendious miracles, didſt bring thy people out of *Egypt*, the land of bondage, and didſt lead them into the *holy land;* graciouſly cauſe thy holy influence to deſcend down into the mind of the Prince, (who for no private intereſt, or reſpect at all, but onely out of commiſeration to our affliction, hath inclined himſelf to protect, and ſhelter us, for which extraordinary humanity, neither I my ſelf, nor my nation, can ever expect to be able to render him anſwerable, and ſufficient thanks,) and alſo into the minds of his moſt illuſtrious and prudent Council, that they may determine that, which according to thine infinite wiſdome, may be beſt, and moſt expedient for us. For men (O Lord) ſee that which is preſent, but thou in thy omniſciencie ſeeſt that which is afarre off.

And to the highly honoured nation of *England*, I make my moſt humble requeſt, that they would read over my arguments impartially, without prejudice, and devoid of all paſſion, effectually recommending me to their grace and favour, and earneſtly beſeeching God that he would be pleaſed to haſten the time promiſed by *Zephaniah*, wherein we ſhall all ſerve him *with one conſent*, after the ſame manner, and ſhall be all of the ſame judgement, that as his name is one, ſo his fear may be alſo one, and that we may all ſee the goodneſſe of the Lord, bleſſed for ever, and the conſolations of Zion. Amen, and Amen.

From my ſtudy, in *London*, *April* the 10, in the year from the creation 5416, and in the year, according to the vulgar account, 1656.

As to give ſatisfaction to your worſhip, being deſirous to know what books have been written, and printed by me, or elſe are almoſt ready for the preſſe, may you pleaſe to take the names of them in this Catalogue.

A Catalogue of ſuch books as have been published by Menaſſeh Ben Iſrael, *in* Hebrew.

N *Iſmachaim*, four Books, concerning the Immortality of the ſoul, wherein many notable, and pleaſant Queſtions are diſcuſſed, and handled, as may be ſeen by the Arguments of the particular Chapters, prefixed to the book, in *Latine*, dedicated to the then Emperour *Ferdinand* the third.

Pene Rabbâ, upon *Rabot*, of the Ancient Rabbins, in *Latine* and *Spanish*.

Conciliatoris pars prima in Pentateuchum.

De Reſurrectione mortuorum libri tres.

Problemata de creatione.

De termino vitæ.

De fragilitate humana, ex lapſu Adami, *deque divino in bono opere auxilio.*

Spes Iſraelis. This is alſo in Engliſh.

Orationes panegyricæ, quarum una ad Illuſtriſsimum principem, Aurantium, *altera ad ſereniſsimam reginam* Sueciorum, in *Spanish* onely.

Conciliator { the ſecond part, upon the firſt Prophets. / the third part, upon the later Prophets. / the fourth part upon the Hagiographa.

Humas, or the *Pentateuch*, with the ſeverall precepts in the margin.

Theſoro de los dirim five books of the rites and ceremonies of the *Iewes*, in two Volumes.

Humas the *Pentateuch*, with a commentarie.

Piedra pretioſa, of *Nebuchadnezzar's* image, or the fifth Monarchy.

Laus orationes del anno, the *Iewes* prayers for the whole year, tranſlated out of the originall.

Books

Books ready for the Preſſe.

De cultu Imaginum contra Pontificios Latine.
Sermois, Sermons in the *Portugal* tongue.
Loci communes Omnium Midraſim, which contains the divinity of the ancient Rabbins, in *Hebrew.*
Bibliotheca Rabbinica, together with the arguments of their books, and my judgement upon their ſeverall editions.
Phocylides in *Spanish* verſe *cum Notis.*
Hippocratis Aphoriſmi in *Hebrew.*
Flavius Ioſephus adverſus Apionem, in *Hebrew, ejuſdem Monarchia rationis* in *Hebrew.*
Refutatio libri cui titulus Præadamitæ.
Hiſtoria ſive continuatio Flavii Joſephi *ad hæc uſque tempora.*
De divinitate legis Moſaicæ.
De ſcientia Talmudiſtarum, in ſingulis facultatibus.
Philoſophia Rabbinica.
De disciplinis Rabbinorum.
Nomenclator Hebraius & Arabicus.

I have alſo publiſhed, and printed, with my own preſſe, above 60 other books, amongſt which are many bibles in *Hebrew,* and *Spanish,* with all our *Hebrew* prayers corrected, and diſpoſed in good order.

FINIS.

NOTES

(P=page; l=line)

PORTRAITS OF MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

(Frontispiece, and pp. 1 and 105)

Pocock, in his biographical introduction to the English translation of Menasseh ben Israel's "De Termino Vitæ" (Lond., 1700), gives the following pen-picture of the author derived from the recollections of English Jews who remembered the days of the Whitehall Conferences:—

"He was of middle stature and inclining to fatness. He always used his own hair, which (many years before his death) was very grey; so that his complexion being pretty fresh, his demeanour graceful and comely, his habit plain and decent, he commanded an awful reverence which was partly due to so venerable a deportment. In short, he was *un homme sans passion, sans legiereté, mais hélas! sans opulence*" (p. viii).

This description agrees with the portraits of Menasseh. Three of these portraits are extant. Two of them are by Rembrandt, and one is by a Jewish line-engraver, Salom Italia. Curiously enough, although far inferior in artistic merit to the Rembrandts as a portrait, Menasseh prized the Italia engraving highest. He sent a copy to the Silesian mystic Frankenberg in 1643, and he writes in the *Bonum Nuncium Israeli*:—

"Abr. à Frankenberg. . . . effigiem meam, aeri incisam misissem, ubi ad symbolum meum Perigrinando Quærimus, cui ab uno latere Hominis Peregrinantis, ab altero candelæ emblema adscriptum cum hoc dicterio נר לרגלי דברך sic praefatur" (p. 92).

The shield in the left-hand corner of this portrait was used by Menasseh as a trade-mark in his printing-office. It has for this reason been reproduced on the title-page of the present work. Salom Italia's portrait is often found bound up with the first Latin version of the "Hope of Israel," and was roughly copied in the Spanish edition published at Madrid in 1881.

Rembrandt belonged to the distinguished circle of Menasseh's personal friends. He illustrated the *Piedra Gloriosa* published by Menasseh in 1655, and he etched one portrait of the Rabbi, and painted another. The etching, of which a mezzotinted reproduction is presented on the frontispiece of the present work, was produced in 1636 when Menasseh was

thirty-two years old. The painted portrait which is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg is of doubtful authenticity as relating to Menasseh, but I am inclined to regard it as genuine. It represents the Rabbi at a much more advanced age than the etching. The grey hair agrees with Pocock's description of his appearance in 1656, while the sorrowful expression and full beard may be accounted for by his troubled experiences in London, and especially by the death of his son. When he returned to Middleburg in 1657, he was mourning for his son, and hence his beard would be unshaved. It is not at all improbable that Rembrandt, his old friend of twenty years, saw him at this tragical moment, and that the portrait is a reminiscence of the prematurely aged and broken-hearted Rabbi, then tottering on the verge of the grave.

THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

(pp. 1–72)

Bibliographical Note

The title is taken from Jeremiah xiv. 8 (see p. 7).

The first edition (pp. xiii, 126, 12mo) was in Spanish, and bore the following title:—

מקוה ישראל / Esto es, / Esperança / de Israel./ Obra con suma curiosidad conpuesta / por / Menasseh Ben Israel / Theologo, y Philosopho Hebreo./ Trata del admirable esparzimiento de los diez / Tribus, y su infalible reduccion con los de / mas, a la patria: con muchos puntos, / y Historias curiosas, y declara- / cion de varias Prophecias, / por el Author rectamen- / te interpretadas./ Dirigido a los señores Parnassim del K.K. / de Talmvd Tora./ En Amsterdam./ En la Imprension de / Semvel Ben Israel Soeiro./ Año. 5410.

It was dedicated to the Wardens of the Theological School (Talmud Torah), Josseph Da Costa, Ishak Jessurun, Michael Espinosa, Abraham Enriques Faro, Gabriel de Rivas Altas, Ishak Belmonte, and Abraham Franco. The dedication is dated Shebat 13, 5410 [=Jan. 15, 1650], and is headed with the significant quotation in Hebrew of part of verse 1 of Isaiah lxi.: "To preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted." This dedicatory epistle is only to be found in the Spanish edition. In the Latin and English translations it is replaced by an address "To the Parliament, the Supream Court of England."

The Latin edition (pp. xii, 111, 12mo), which was printed very shortly after the Spanish, bore the following title:—

מקוה ישראל / Hoc est, / Spes / Israelis / Authore / Menasseh Ben Israel / Theologo & Philosopho Hebræo / Amstelodami / Anno 1650.

Notes

It is doubtful whether Kayserling (*Misc. Heb. Lit.*, ii. p. 16 and note 76), following Castro, is correct in his conjecture that this translation is the work of Menasseh himself. There are too many misunderstandings of the Hebrew names and quotations to admit of this view. The deviations from the original suggest that it was hurriedly executed from a first draft of the Spanish version, which was afterwards revised by the author, who omitted to perform the same service for the Latin text.

The English version (pp. xiv, 90, 12mo) was based on the Latin, and reproduced all its faults. It appeared in London towards the end of 1650. The title-page runs as follows:—

The / Hope of Israel: / Written / By Menasseh Ben Israel, / an Hebrew Divine, and Philosopher./ Newly extant, and Printed in / Amsterdam, and Dedicated by the / Author to the High Court, the / Parliament of England, and to the / Councell of State./ Translated into English, and / published by Authority./ In this treatise is shewed the place where the ten / Tribes at this present are, proved, partly by / the strange relation of one Antony Monte- / zinus, a Jew, of what befell him as he tra- / velled over the Mountaines Cordillære, with / divers other particulars about the restoration of / the Jewes, and the time when./ Printed at London by R. I. for Hannah Allen, / at the Crown in Popes-head / Alley, 1650.

The only respect in which this version differs from the Latin is that it contains on pp. xi–xiv an address from "The Translator to the Reader." The name of the translator is not given, but the work was subsequently acknowledged by Moses Wall in a correspondence with E. S. (Sir Edward Spencer); see pp. 66–72.

A second edition, "corrected and amended," sm. 4to, was published in 1651 and reprinted in 1652. It is the latter which is reproduced in the present volume on account of its convenient *format*, and of the Appendices which throw light on the motives by which the publication in England was actuated.

The following is a list of other editions and translations:—

1659. Spanish by Jedidjah Ibn Gabbai (Smyrna).
1666. Dutch by Jan Bara (Amsterdam).
1691. Judeo-German by Mardochai ben Moses Drucker (Amsterdam).
1697. Hebrew by Eljakim ben Jacob (Amsterdam).
1703. *Ibid.*
1712. Judeo-German (Frankfort) reprint of 1691 edition.
1723. Spanish (Amsterdam) reprint of original edition.
1792. English by Robert Ingram (Colchester).
1836. Hebrew (Wilna) reprint of 1703 edition.
1850. English (London) reprint of 1650 edition.
1881. Spanish, by Santiago Perez Junquera (Madrid), reprint of original edition.

The Epistle Dedicatory

P. 4, l. 9. "*Not onely by your prayers.*" This, no doubt, refers to the protection extended by the Government to the Marranos in London. (See Introduction, p. xxx.)

To the Courteous Reader

P. 6, l. 21. "*Others to the Ten Tribes.*" There is a very voluminous literature of the Ten Tribes, a bibliography of which has long been promised by Mr. Joseph Jacobs. Bancroft in his "Native Races of the Pacific States of North America" discusses the theory of the Hebrew origin of the Americans (vol. v. pp. 77–95). Santiago Perez Junquera in his Spanish reprint of "Esperanza de Israel" gives a bibliography of Spanish writers who have dealt with the problem of the Ten Tribes. The Jewish legends on the subject, none of which admit the American theory, have been summarised by Dr. A. Neubauer in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vol. i. pp. 14, 95, 185, 408). See also M. Lewin, "Wo wären die Zehn Stämme Israels zu suchen" (1901).

The following selections from the vast literature of the Ten Tribes, especially in its relation to Menasseh ben Israel, may be recommended to investigators of this curious craze:—

Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions through the chief parts of the world, written by Edw. Brerewood. London, 1635.

Thos. Thorowgood—Jews in America, &c. 1650.

John Dury—Epistolary Discourse to Mr. Thomas Thorowgood. 1650.

Sir Hamon L'Estrange—Americans no Jews. 1652.

Thos. Thorowgood—Jews in America [with] an accurate discourse [by] Mr. John Eliot. 1660.

Theophili Spizelii—Elevatio Relationis Montezinianæ de repertis in America tribubus Israeliticis. Basle, 1661.

Account of the Ten Tribes of Israel being in America, originally published by Menasseh Ben Israel, with observations thereon. By Robert Ingram, M.A. Colchester, 1792.

The Ten Tribes of Israel historically identified with the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere. By Mrs. Simon. London, 1826.

The Hope of Israel, presumptive evidence that the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere are descended from the ten missing tribes of Israel. By Barbara Anne Simon. London, 1829.

The Remnant Found, or the place of Israel's hiding discovered, being a summary of proofs showing that the Jews of Daghistan on the Caspian Sea are the remnant of the Ten Tribes. By the Rev. Jacob Samuel. London, 1841.

The Thorn Tree, being a history of thorn worship of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, but more especially of the Lost Tribes and House of David. By Theta. London, 1863.

Paläorama. Oceanisch-Amerikanische Untersuchungen und Aufklärungen. Erlangen, 1868.

Ireland, Ur of the Chaldees. By Anna Wilkes. London, 1873.

Ueber die Abstammung der Englischen Nation. Von D. Paulus Cassel. Berlin, 1880.

P. 6, l. 29. "*Cordilleræ*," Spanish. A mountain chain, sometimes, as here, applied in a specific sense to the Andes.

P. 6, l. 32. "*The Sabbaticall River*," or Sambation, a river mentioned in the Midrash as flowing during the first six days of every week and drying up on the Sabbath. (Neubauer, "Géographie du Talmud," pp. 33–34, 299; Hamburger, "Real-Encyclopädie des Judenthums," vol. ii. p. 1071; see also "Hope of Israel," *infra*, p. 35.)

P. 7, l. 15. "*I intend a continuation of Josephus.*" No trace of this work has been found. From a passage in the *Vindiciæ* there is reason to believe that it it was completed in MS. (see p. 115 and note thereon, *infra*, p. 167).

The Relation of Antony Montezinus

P. 11. An earlier translation of this affidavit was published by Thomas Thorowgood in "Jewes in America," pp. 129, 130. (See Introduction to present work, p. xxv.)

P. 11, l. 13. "*Port Honda*," now Bahia Honda, an inlet at the north-eastern extremity of Colombia, in 12° 20′ N. and 50° W. It was first visited by Ojeda in 1502, and named by him Puerto de Santa Cruz. There is a town named Honda in the interior, and a bay of the same name on the northern coast of Cuba, 60 miles west of Havana.

P. 11, l. 15. "*Province of Quity*," modern Quito, originally a presidency of the Spanish viceroyalty of Peru, afterwards a division of the Republic of Colombia, and in 1831 organised with the districts of Asuay and Guayaquil into a new republic, under the name of Ecuador.

P. 11, l. 17. "*Cazicus*," modern *Cacique* or *Cazique*, used in Spanish to designate an Indian chief. The word is of Haytian origin. An early Spanish writer derives it from the Hebrew. (Kayserling, "Christopher Columbus," p. 154.)

P. 11, l. 29. "*Jonkets*," junket, from Italian *giuncata*, a cream-cheese, so called because served on rushes (*giuncoa*—a rush):

> "And beare with you both wine and *juncates* fit
> And bid him eat."
>
> —Spenser, *F. Q.*, V. iv. 49.
>
> "With stories told of many a feat,
> How faery Mab the *junkets* eat."
>
> —Milton, *L'Allegro*, 172.

P. 12, l. 3. "*Carthagenia*": modern Cartagena, a fortified maritime city of the United States of Colombia, on the Caribbean Sea.

P. 12, l. 5. "*Blessed be the name of the Lord that hath not made me an Idolator, a Barbarian, a Black-a-Moore, or an Indian.*" This is an extension of a blessing said in the Hebrew morning service. The original blessing, however, only speaks of "idolator." There is another blessing said on seeing "negroes and redskins," and this, curiously enough, is discussed in the same section of the Talmud as that in which the recital of the blessing in regard to heathens is enjoined (see Schwab, "Le Talmud," vol. i. p. 158).

P. 13, l. 17. "*Duerus*": the river Douro or Duero in Spain. Mr. Wall does not seem to have taken the trouble to delatinise the name. In the Spanish edition it appears, of course, "Duero."

P. 13, l. 18. "*Making a sign with the fine linen of Xylus.*" This is a misunderstanding of the original Latin, which says, "factoque ex duabus Xyli syndonibus." The word "Xyli" here is intended for the genitive of Xylon = cotton. The passage should read, "and making out of two pieces of cotton cloth." The original Spanish says, "y haziendo vandera de dos paños de algodon." What Montezinos and his companion did was to construct a flag out of their two cotton waistbands.

P. 14, l. 1. Curious mistake overlooking the identity of Jacob and Israel.

P. 14, l. 22. "*Mohanes*": American-Indian medicine men. (See *infra*, p. 56.)

The Hope of Israel

P. 17, l. 21. For Jewish aspects of the early voyages to America see Kayserling, "Christopher Columbus, and the participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries" (Lond., 1894); also the same author's "The First Jew in America," in the John Hopkins University Studies for 1892.

P. 18, l. 32. "*Gomoras*" = Francisco Lopez de Gomara.

P. 18, l. 18. "*Tunes*" = Tunis.

P. 18, l. 22. "*Isaac Abarbanel*," Jewish statesman and theologian (1437–1509), served Alphonso V. of Portugal, Isabella of Spain, and Ferdinand of Naples; author of numerous Bible commentaries and philosophical essays. Headed the emigration of the Spanish Jews at the time of the expulsion (Graetz, *Geschichte d. Juden*, vol. viii. pp. 316 *et seq.*; Kayserling, *Juden in Portugal*, pp. 72, 100). The Abarbanels, whose descendants are numerous in Europe, claimed descent from King David. Menasseh ben Israel's wife was an Abarbanel (see "Hope of Israel," p. 39). Mr. Coningsby Disraeli is a descendant on his mother's side.

P. 19, l. 30. "*Rabbi Jonathan ben Uziel.*" The author of a free Aramaic paraphrase (Targum) to the Hebrew Prophetical Books. His date is about the beginning of the Christian era. A Targum to the Pentateuch is wrongly ascribed to him; this is properly the Targum Yerushalmi or Jerusalem Targum (see Zunz, "Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden," pp. 66 *seq.*).

P. 19, l. 33. "*Rabbinus Josephus Coen in his Chronology*" (see Bialloblotzky, "The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Meir the Sphardi," Lond., 1835). Joseph Cohen was born 1496 and died 1575.

P. 21, Sect. 4. The Hebrew in the first case is מה טם אל שעלבין מת דע אל, the ט in the second word being regarded as a mistake for ת. In the second case the Hebrew is מהטבאל שעל בן מתדעאל (see "Esperança de Israel," pp. 26, 27).

P. 21, l. 32. "*Collai*" = Callao.

P. 22, l. 7. "*Petrus Cieza*" = Pedro Cieça de Leon.

P. 22, l. 8. "*Guamanga*": modern Ayacucho.

P. 23, l. 30. "*Garracas*" = Caracas.

P. 24, l. 9. "*Alonsus de Erzilla*" = Alonzo d'Ercilla y Zuñiga (1530–1595). The quotation is from "La Araucana," the most famous of Spanish Epics.

P. 24, l. 27. "*Maragnon*" = Marañon, another name for the Amazon.

P. 24, l. 35. "*Farnambuc*" = Pernambuco.

P. 26, l. 14. "*The Isle of Solomon and Hierusalem.*"—Mendaña landed on Isabel Island in 1568, and named the group Solomon, and Bougainville rediscovered the islands in 1768. H. B. Guppy, "The Solomon Islands and their Natives" (Lond. 1887). C. M. Wood in "Proceedings R. Geog. Soc.," 1888, pp. 351–76, and 1890, pp. 394–418, with map (p. 444), on which are given the original Spanish as well as the modern names of the islands.

P. 28, l. 7. "*To this day they privately keep their Religion.*" The Marranos. See *supra*, pp. xii–xiv.

P. 29, l. 9. "*My Reconciler.*" "Conciliador" Segda Parte. Amsterdam, 1641. This work was translated into Latin by Vossius (1687), and into English by Lindo (1842).

P. 29, Sect. 16. A bibliography of the Jews in China has been published in French by Henri Cordier. A useful summary of our knowledge of the Hebrew Settlements in China, brought down to the most recent date, has been written by Mr. Marcus Adler (*Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. xiii. pp. 18–41).

P. 33, l. 20. "*David the Reubenite.*" David Reubeni, an Oriental Jew, who visited Europe in 1524, alleging himself to be an envoy from the Ten Tribes. He was received with distinction by the Pope and the King of Portugal, and made a great commotion among the Marranos and Jews (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. pp. 244 *et seq.*).

P. 33, l. 23. "*Selomoh Molcho.*" A Marrano disciple of David Reubeni. His name was originally Diogo Pires. He migrated to the East and became a learned Cabbalist. He died a martyr's death in 1532 (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. pp. 251 *et seq.*).

P. 33, l. 30. "*Abraham Frisol Orchotolam.*" A mistranslation for Abraham Frisol in his book entitled, "*Orhat Olam.*" Abraham Farisol or Peretsol (1451–1525) was a Hebrew geographer, author of "Orchat Olam" (The Path of the Universe), which was edited with a Latin translation by Thomas Hyde (Oxford, 1691). For life of Farisol see Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. pp. 46 *et seq.*

P. 33, l. 38. "*The Hebrew letter* (*h*) *and* (*t*) *are neere in fashion.*" The letters referred to are ה and ת.

P. 33, l. 39. "*Eldad Danita.*" Eldad the Danite lived in the ninth century. His career was similar to that of David Reubeni (Epstein, "Eldad Ha-Dani," Pressburg, 1891).

P. 34, l. 2. "*Sephar Eldad Danita,*" ספור אלדד הדני. An edition with a French translation was published by Carmoly ("Relation d'Eldad le Danite." Paris, 1838). The best editions are those of Epstein and D. H. Müller.

P. 34, l. 3. "*Rabbi David Kimhi.*" Famous Hebrew exegete, grammarian, and lexicographer (d. 1232). The work referred to as "*etymol suo*" is "The Book of Roots" (ספר השרשים).

P. 34, l. 5. "*Of the name of Rabbi Juda Aben Karis.*" Should be, "in the name of Rabbi Judah ben Koraisch." Rabbi Judah (fl. *circa* 870–900) was a Karaite philologist; lived in North-West Africa. He met Eldad in Morocco (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. v. p. 261).

P. 34, l. 9. "*Part of the Ten Tribes also live in Ethiopia.*" The Falashas of Abyssinia are here referred to (Halévy, "Travels in Abyssinia"; *Mis. Heb. Lit.*, vol. ii. pp. 175 *et seq.* There are also reports on the Falashas in the Annual Reports of the Alliance Israelite and Anglo-Jewish Association).

P. 35, l. 22. "*Rabbi Johanan, the Author of the Jerusalem Talmud.*" Rabbi Jochanan, son of the Smith, was a disciple of Rabbi Judah the Prince, compiler of the Mishna. He was one of the most famous Hebrew teachers of the third century. The tradition that he was author of the Jerusalem Talmud rests only on the assertion of Maimonides. Modern critics reject it, and date the Jerusalem Talmud in the seventh century. (Hamburger, "Real-Encyclopädie," *sub voc.* "Jochanan" and "Talmud.")

P. 35, l. 34. "*The learned man l'Empereur.*" Constantine l'Empereur, an Hebraist of the seventeenth century (d. 1648), who translated into Latin some tractates of the Mishna and other Hebrew works, including the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela.

P. 35, l. 36. "*Sedar Olam.*" The name of two Hebrew Chronologies (see Hamburger, "Real-Encyclopädie," sup. vol., pp. 132, 133).

Notes

P. 35, l. 37. "*In Talmud tractat, Sanhedr.*" "Sanhedrin" is the name of a treatise of the Talmud, the fourth in the fourth book of the Jerushalmi, and the fifth in the fourth book of the Babli. Excerpts have been translated into Latin with elaborate notes by Joh. Coccejus (Amsterdam 1629).

P. 36, l. 9. "*Beresit Rabba.*" The first part of the "Midrash Rabboth," the chief collection of Hagadic or homiletic expositions of the Scriptures. As its name implies, it deals with Genesis (Zunz, "Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge," pp. 184 *et seq.*, 1892.)

P. 36, l. 9. "*In Perasach,*" should be "in Parashah 11" (see original Spanish "Esperança," p. 66). The misprint occurs in the Latin. "Parasha" means section. There are 100 sections in the *Bereshith Rabba.*

P. 36, l. 10. "*Tornunfus*" = Turnus Rufus.

P. 36, l. 12. "*Rabbi Aquebah.*" One of the greatest of the Tanaim or compilers of the Mishna. He became an adherent of the Pseudo-Messiah Bar Cochba, who rebelled against the Romans during the reign of Hadrian, and was put to death after the fall of Bethar. His career has passed into legend (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. iv. pp. 53 *et seq.*).

P. 36, l. 20. "*Asirim Rabba*" = Shir Ha-Shirim Rabba. Midrashic exposition of the Song of Songs (*supra*, "Beresit Rabba").

P. 36, l. 27. "*Jalcut.*" A collection of Midrashim covering the whole of the Scriptures, and compiled in the eleventh century by R. Simeon b. Chelbo, whence it is called the Yalkut Shimeoni (Zunz, "Gottesdienst," pp. 183 and 309).

P. 36, l. 31. "*Bamibar Rabba*": misprint for Bamidbar Rabba, the Midrashic exposition of Numbers.

P. 37, l. 12. "*R. Selomoh Jarchi.*" Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes, called Rashi (1040–1105), the most eminent Hebrew Bible commentator of the Middle Ages. The name Jarchi was erroneously given to Rashi by Raymund Martini, Munster, and Buxtorf, who imagined that he was a native of Lunel (ירח = *luna*). Menasseh ben Israel was the first Jewish scholar to adopt this blunder (Wolf, "Biblio. Heb." vol. i. 1057, &c.; Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. vi. pp. 77 *et seq.*; Wolf, "The Treves Family in England").

P. 37, l. 15. "*R. Mardochus Japhe.*" Bohemian Rabbi (1530–1612) (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. pp. 465–467).

P. 37, l. 26. "*Another worthy of credit.*" In the original Spanish, Menasseh gives his name as Señor H. Meyr Rophé. This is omitted from both the Latin and English editions.

P. 37, l. 34. "*R. Moses Gerundensis.*" Moses ben Nachman (1200–1272), also called Nachmanides, and Ramban. Christian scholars sometimes speak of him as Gerundensis from his birthplace, Gerona. The greatest Talmudic authority of his day, author of a

Bible commentary. His public disputation at Barcelona with Pablo Christiani in 1263 is famous (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. vii. pp. 131–136, Schechter "Studies in Judaism," art. "Nachmanides").

P. 38, l. 1. "*Benjamin Tudelensis*," Benjamin b. Jonah of Tudela, famous Jewish traveller (see Itinerary by, translated by A. Asher. Lond., 1840).

P. 38, l. 4. "*The City Lubin*": misprint for Lublin.

P. 45, l. 14. "*Rabby Simeon ben Johay, the author of the Zoar.*" Rabbi Simeon was a famous doctor of the Mishna and disciple of Akiba. He laid the foundation of the Sifre, the Halachic, or legal exposition of Numbers and Deuteronomy. He figures in Jewish legend as the greatest master of the Cabbala. He was not the author of the Zohar. Internal evidence stamps that work as a product of the thirteenth century, and its authorship is now ascribed to Moses ben Shemtob de Leon (Hamburger, "Real-Encyclopädie," arts. Simon b. Jochai, Sifre, and Sohar).

P. 45, l. 22. "*Rabbi Seadiah*" = Saadja ben Joseph or Saadja Gaon (892–942). The most celebrated of the Geonim, who were the chiefs of the schools of Sura and Pumbaditha, and the ecclesiastical counterparts of the Exilarchs. Saadja was one of the most prolific and versatile writers Judaism has produced (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. v. pp. 302 *et seq.*).

P. 45, l. 23. "*Moses Egyptius*" = Moses Maimonides.

P. 45, l. 24, "*Abraham bar Ribi Hijah*" = Abraham ben Chijah ha-Nasi of Barcelona (1065–1136), Jewish astronomical and geometrical writer; was Minister of Police during the Moorish domination in Spain (Graetz, "History," vol. iii. p. 320).

P. 45, l. 24. "*Abraham Zacculo*": misprint for Zaccuto (d. *c.* 1515). He was a Jewish astronomer employed at the Court of Manuel of Portugal. His works influenced Columbus (Kayserling, "Christopher Columbus," pp. 9, 13, 14, 46–51, 112, 113).

P. 45, l. 30. "*The letter (m) in Isa.* ix. 7." The reference is to the sixth verse of Isaiah ix., in the first word of which, למרבה, the second letter, which should be מ, is written in its final form ם.

P. 47, l. 13. "*Diogo d'Assumean*": misprint for Diogo da Asunçao (Graetz, "History," vol. iv. p. 711; Kayserling, "Juden in Portugal," pp. 282, 292).

P. 47, l. 20. "*The Lord Lope de Veray Alacron*" = Don Lope de Vera y Alarcon. His martyrdom is the subject of a poem by Antonio Enriquez Gomez, "Romance al diuin Martir Juda Creyente" (Kayserling, "Biblioteca Española," p. 50; Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. x. pp. 101, 197).

P. 47, l. 38. "*Isaac Castrensis Tartas*" = Isaac de Castro Tartas (Graetz, "History," vol. v. p. 33).

Notes

P. 48, l. 9. "*Eli Nazarenus.*" His real name was Francisco Meldonado de Silva ("Publications of the American Jew. Hist. Soc.," vol. iv. p. 113).

P. 48, l. 13. "*Thomas Terbinon.*" Doctor Thomas (Isaac) Trebiño de Sobremente ("Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.," vol. iv. pp. 124–161).

P. 48, l. 25. "*My booke, De Termino Vitæ*" (English edition by P. T. [Thomas Pocock]. Lond., 1700).

P. 49, l. 8. "*His wife Benuenida*" = Bienvenida Abravanela (Kayserling, "Die Jüdischen Frauen," pp. 77 *et seq.*, 111).

P. 49, l. 16. "*Don Selomo Rophe.*" Rabbi Solomon ben Nathan Aschkenazi, surnamed Rophe, or the Physician, was a diplomatist in the Turkish service who secured the election of Henry of Anjou to the throne of Poland. (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. pp. 396, 399, 438, 580; Levy, "Don Joseph Nasi," pp. 8 *et seq.*).

P. 49, l. 18. "*D. Ben Jaese, Anancus, and Sonsinos, are of great authority with the Turk.*" These are the names of Jewish families who played an important part in Turkey in the sixteenth century. This is a chapter of Jewish history on which the historians have as yet shed little light. The materials are chiefly in manuscript, and the present author proposes dealing with them in a communication to the Jewish Historical Society. On the Ben Jaese (Ibn Jachya) family, the reader may provisionally consult Carmoly, "Chronica Familiæ Jachya," and on the Soncinos, Mortara, "Indice Alfabetico."

P. 49, l. 20. "*Abraham Alholn*": misprint for Alhulu, treasurer to the Pasha of Egypt. (See *infra*, p. 86.)

P. 49, l. 21. "*Don Josephus Nassi.*" A wealthy Jew, nephew and son-in-law of Donna Gracia Nasi (see note, *infra*, p. 163). He was in the service of the Sultan, and conquered Cyprus for the Turks. In addition to the sources indicated by Menasseh, see Levy, "Don Joseph Nasi, Herzog Von Naxos" (Breslau, 1859), and Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. *passim.*

P. 49, l. 25. "*Jacob Aben Jaes.*" He is sometimes referred to as Don Solomon. He was of the Ibn Jachya family, and was uncle to Joseph Nasi. For a time he was in the service of Queen Elizabeth, and corresponded with her physician Rodrigo Lopez, to whom he was related. The Sultan created him Duke of Mytilene. (MS. materials.)

P. 49, l. 29. "*D. Samuel Palaxe.*" (See Henriques de Castro, "Keur Van Grafsteenen," pp. 91, 94.)

P. 50, l. 6. "*D. Benjamin Mussaphia.*" Dionysius Mussaphia (1605-1674), physician and philologist, court physician to Christian IV. of Denmark, afterwards Rabbi in Amsterdam (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. x. pp. 24, 26, 202, 227, 243, 244; Kayserling, "Juden in Portugal," p. 298.)

P. 50, l. 9. "*King Cochini.*" A mistranslation; should be "King of Cochin." The Jews of the Malabar coast settled there in the fifth century. Local tradition gives the colony a much greater antiquity. Menasseh gives further particulars of them in his "Humbler Addresses," *infra*, p. 85 (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. iv. pp. 470–472; Satthianadhan in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1871, pp. 365 *et seq.*)

P. 50, l. 12. "*Mardocheas Maisel.*" Mordecai Meisel (1528–1601). The first Hebrew capitalist in Germany. Created an Imperial Councillor by the Emperor Rudolph. His charities were on a princely scale. He built two synagogues at Prague (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. pp. 477, 478.)

P. 50, l. 14. "*Jacob Bathsebah.*" Jacob Basevi Schmieles (1580–1634), an influential Bohemian Jew, ennobled by the Emperor Ferdinand, receiving the title of Von Treuenburg and a grant of arms. (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. x. pp. 41–47; Wolf, "Jewish Coats of Arms.")

P. 50, l. 22. "*Moses Amon*" (1490–1565). Physician to Solymon II. Translated the Bible and Hebrew Prayer-Book into Arabic, and was employed by the Sultan on diplomatic missions (Levy, "Don Joseph Nasi," pp. 6–8).

P. 50, l. 23. "*Elias Montalto.*" Felipe Montalto, or Eliahu de Luna Montalto, brother of Amato Lusitano. Portuguese physician. Practised in Italy, and afterwards was appointed physician-in-ordinary to Maria de Medicis; died at Tours 1616, and buried in the Jewish Cemetery at Amsterdam (Kayserling, "Biblioteca Española," pp. 72, 73). Montalto was also known as Don Philipe Rodrigues. Among his descendants is Prof. Raphael Meldola (MS. materials).

P. 50, l. 25. "*Elias Cretensis.*" Better known as Elia del Medigo (1463–1498). Lectured publicly on philosophy in Padua, and arbitrated in a dispute between the professors and students of the university at the request of the Venetian Senate. Pico di Mirandola was one of his pupils. He was a prolific writer (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. viii. pp. 240–247).

P. 50, l. 26. "*R. Abraham de Balmas*" (d. 1521). Physician, philosopher, and grammarian. Like Del Medigo, he lectured in Padua, and was one of the Hebraists whose teaching influenced the Reformation. Daniel Bomberg, the famous Venetian printer, was one of his pupils, and translated his poems into Latin (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. p. 215).

P. 50, l. 27. "*Elias Grammaticus.*" Better known as Elia Levita (1498–1549). A German Rabbi who taught in Padua, Venice, and Rome, and who exercised a strong influence on the Hebrew studies which produced the Reformation. Scaliger describes him as "the greatest Hebrew scholar of his age." Among his pupils were the

Cardinal Egidio de Viterbe, the French bishop and ambassador George de Selve, and the theologians Münster and Fagius (Günsburg, "Masoreth Hamasoreth"; Karpeles, "Geschichte d. Jüd. Lit.," pp. 855 *et seq.*).

P. 50, l. 33. "*David de Pomis.*" Physician, lexicographer, and theologian (1525–1588), translated Koheleth into Italian. Author of "De Medico Hebræo" (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. ix. p. 483; Karpeles, "Gesch. Jüd. Lit.," pp. 880–881). There is a curious tradition that De Pomis was residing in Hull in 1599 (Symons, "Hull in ye Olden Times," Hull, 1886, pp. 82, 83).

Considerations upon the Point of the Conversion of the Jewes

Pp. 57–72. This Appendix is, as will be seen, by the English translator, Moses Wall. It does not appear in the first edition, and it is printed here as throwing light on the motives of the English supporters of Menasseh ben Israel.

P. 67, l. 21. "*E. S.*" Sir Edward Spenser, M.P. for Middlesex. See Introduction, p. xxvii.

P. 68, l. 36. "*Did Mr. Broughton gaine upon a learned Rabbi.*" See Broughton, "Ovr Lordes Famile" (Amst., 1608), and "A Reqvire of Agreement" (1611).

THE HUMBLE ADDRESSES

(pp. 73–103)

Bibliographical Note

For the origin of this tract, and the probable date and circumstances of its preparation, see Introduction, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.

There are two editions, neither of which bears any imprint or date. Both are 4to, but one has 26 pp. and the other 23 pp. It is difficult to say whether, and which, one of these two versions is a revision of the other, as the only difference between them is that the following sentence is added at the end of the 23 pp. text: "Which is the close of Rabbi Menesse Ben-Israel, a Divine, and Doctor in Physick in the Strand over against the New-Exchange in London." The British Museum copy of this edition is dated in MS. "Novemb. 5th (London), 1655." This edition must have been printed after Menasseh's arrival in London, and it is probable that the other is the *Libellus Anglicus* of which he speaks in his letter to Felgenhauer in February 1655, and which, consequently, we may assume was printed in Amsterdam.

The latter was reprinted in Melbourne in 1868, with an introduction by the late Rev. A. F. Ornstien :—

"To / His Highnesse / the / Lord Protector / of the / Commonwealth of / England, Scotland and Ireland / the Humble Addresses / of / Menasseh Ben Israel, a Divine, and / Doctor of Physic, in behalfe / of the Jewish Nation / 1655. / Reprinted by H. T. Dwight, / Bookseller and Publisher, Bourke Street East, Melbourne. / 1868.

English reprints of the 23 pp. text have been published in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov.–Dec. 1859, and in Kayserling's "Life of Menasseh ben Israel," with annotations in 1877 (*Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, Second Series, pp. 35–63). According to Barbosa Machado ("Biblioteca Lusitana," vol. iii. p. 457), a Spanish translation was published in London simultaneously with the first English edition. Its title is given as follows :—

"Las Humildes suplicaciones En nombre de la Nacion de los Judios à su Alteza el Señor Protector Oliver Cromwell de la Republica de Inglaterra, Scocià, y Yrlandia. Traduzido del Original Ingles. En Londres, 1655."

A copy of this translation in MS. existed in the library of Isaac da Costa of Amsterdam (*Misc. Heb. Lit.*, ii. p. 84). Kayserling first translated the tract into German, and published it in his "Menasse ben Israel, sein Leben und Wirken" (Berlin, 1861).

A very large number of the historical references in this tract are taken without acknowledgment from Imanuel Aboab's "Nomologia" (Amst., 1629) and Daniel Levy de Barrios's "Historia Universal Judayca." Kayserling has given many of the original passages in his notes to his "Life of Menasseh ben Israel" (*Misc. Heb. Lit.*, Series II.).

To His Highnesse, &c.

P. 77, l. 9. "*The Ambassadors of England.*" The St. John Mission (see Introduction, pp. xxx–xxxi, and *Vindiciæ*, p. 111).

P. 81, l. 19. "*Merchandizing is . . . the proper profession of the Nation of the Jews.*" In so far as this implies that the Jews have an inborn genius for commerce this is a vulgar error (see Loeb, "Le Juif de l'Histoire et le Juif de la Legende," pp. 7–14).

P. 85, l. 7. "*These in India in Cochin.*" See note, *supra*, pp. 159–160.

P. 85, l. 21. "*In the Turkish Empire.*" See Nicolas de Nicolay, "Navigations, Peregrinations et Voyages faicts en la Turquie," Anvers, 1576, pp. 243 *et seq.*

P. 86, l. 20. "*In this estate some of the Jews have grown to great fortunes.*" The Jewish notabilities referred to in this paragraph are also mentioned in the "Hope of Israel." See note, *supra*, p. 159.

P. 87, l. 6. "*Isaac Iecells.*" Jessel or Joesel is a diminutive of Joseph. The person referred to is probably Asher ben Joseph of Cracow (see Steinschneider, "Bibl. Bodl.," p. 751).

P. 87, l. 9. "*The Cosaques in the late warres.*" The rising of Chmielnicki, 1648–1649. (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. x. pp. 52–82.)

Notes

P. 87, ll. 22 *et seq.* The references to Jewish families in this paragraph are taken from Aboab and De Barrios. See notes 201–204 to Kayserling's "Menasseh ben Israel" (*Misc. Heb. Lit.*, ii. p. 88).

P. 88, l. 17. "*Seignor Moseh Palache.*" See De Castro, "Keur Van Graafsteenen," p. 93; "Cal. State Papers, Dom.," 1654, p. 91. On the Jews of Morocco, see *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, vol. iv. pp. 369 *et seq.*

P. 89, l. 5. "*Sir Duarte Nunes a'Acosta.*" See Da Costa, "Adellijke Geslachten onder de Israelieten."

P. 89, l. 8. "*Emanuel Boccaro Rosales.*" See p. lxxx (Menasseh's letter to Felgenhauer); Kayserling, "Sephardim," p. 209; "Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica," pp. 95–96.

P. 90, l. 16. "*As the Chronicles do declare.*" This paragraph is almost literally translated from Aboab's "Nomologia," p. 290. The story does not appear in the earlier Jewish chronicles, such as *Schevet Jehuda*, *Emek Habacha*, and *Zemach David*, although the events of the reign of Pedro the Cruel and Don Enrique so far as they affect the Jew are fully dealt with in them. The "Chronicle" referred to by Menasseh is probably that of Pedro Lopez d'Ayala, which is the original authority for the story.

P. 91, l. 27. "*Don Isaac Abarbanel.*" See note, *supra*, p. 154.

P. 92, l. 1. "*They everywhere are used to pray.*" See Singer, "The Earliest Jewish Prayers for the Sovereign" (*Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 22, 1901).

P. 92, l. 18. "*He that giveth salvation unto Kings.*" This is the first English translation of the Prayer for the Sovereign. See Singer, preceding note.

P. 93, l. 3. "*R. Simon Ben-Iochai in his excellent book called Zoar.*" See note, *supra*, p. 158.

P. 93, l. 26. "*One famous lawyer in Rome, and Osorius.*" The whole of this, and the following paragraphs relating to the expulsion from Spain, is taken from Aboab's "Nomologia." Osorius (Hieronymo Osorio, 1506–1580) was author of a history of the reign of King Emanuel, which was translated into English by Gibbs (Lond., 1752). See notes to Kayserling's "Menasseh" for parallel passages from Aboab.

P. 99, l. 22. "*As Vasquo saith.*" For Vasquo read Usque. Menasseh is quoting from the "Consolacam as Tribvlacoens de Ysrael," by Samuel Usque (Ferrara, 1552), see pp. 198–200. Samuel Usque was one of three brothers, all distinguished Marranos. He fled from the Portuguese Inquisition and settled at Ferrara, whence he emigrated to the Holy Land. He was a protégé of Donna Gracia Nasi (see Note on "Don Josephus Nassi," *supra*, p. 159; also Kayserling, "Jüdischen Frauen," pp. 80–86).

P. 100, l. 5. The narrative as pirated from Aboab's "Nomologia"

ends here. For fuller details of the Portuguese persecutions, see Kayserling, "Juden in Portugal," pp. 120 *et seq.*

P. 101, l. 17. "*As for killing of the young children of Christians.*" See *infra*, notes on "Vindiciæ Judæorum," pp. 165–167.

P. 102, l. 9. "*In Araguza*" = Ragusa. For a fuller version of this story see *infra*, "Vindiciæ Judæorum," pp. 116–117.

P. 102, l. 20. "*As for the third point.*" Menasseh himself was largely responsible for the charge of proselytising, inasmuch as in the "Hope of Israel" (*supra*, p. 47) he had boasted of the converts made by the Jews in Spain. There can be no doubt that these conversions were very numerous, but they were probably due in a larger measure to the oppressive policy of the Inquisition than to any active proselytising on the part of the Jews.

P. 103, l. 33. "*In the Strand.*" For a full discussion of the place of Menasseh's abode while in London, see *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 144 *et seq.*

VINDICIÆ JUDÆORUM

(pp. 105–147)

Bibliographical Note

For the origin of this tract see Introduction, pp. lxii–lxiv.

It has often been reprinted and translated, especially on occasions of Jewish persecution. In 1708 it reappeared in the second volume of "The Phœnix; or a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces." In 1743 it was reprinted as an independent pamphlet (Lond., 8vo, pp. 67). Ninety-five years later it was again reprinted by M. Samuels in the prolegomena to his translation of Moses Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem" (Lond., 1838, vol. i. pp. 1–73), together with a translation of Mendelssohn's introduction to the German edition (pp. 77–116).

On the Continent it was first published in 1782 in connection with the Mendelssohnian movement for Jewish emancipation, which was participated in by Lessing and Dohm. The fact that it should have been considered by Moses Mendelssohn worthy to stand by the side of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* is a striking tribute to its merits. The Mendelssohnian issue is more famous than the original English edition, for in its German form the work became a classic of national Jewish controversy, whereas in English it was only associated with the local history of the British Jews. The following is the full title of the German edition (pp. lii, 64, sm. 8vo):—

Manasseh Ben Israel / Rettung der Juden / Aus dem Englischen übersetzt / Nebst einer Vorrede / von / Moses Mendelssohn./ Als ein Anhang / zu des / Hrn. Kriegsraths Dohm / Abhandlung: / Ueber / die

bürgerliche Verbesserung / der Juden./ Mit Königl. Preussischer allergnädigster Freyheit./ Berlin und Stettin / bey Friedrich Nicolai / 1782.

This translation is said to have been made by Dr. Herz, the husband of the famous Henrietta Herz (Kayserling, "Moses Mendelssohn sein Leben und seine Werke," p. 354), but it was probably done by his wife, who knew English so well that during her widowhood she was engaged to teach it to the daughter of the Duchess of Courland. (See "Life" by Fürst, also Jennings's "Rahel," pp. 19 *et seq.*) The introduction supplied by Moses Mendelssohn fills fifty-two pages, and is as famous as the *Vindiciæ* itself.

Besides being reprinted in Mendelssohn's collected works, the German edition of the *Vindiciæ* was republished in 1882, in connection with the Anti-Semitic agitation, under the title "Gegen die Verleumder," and again in 1890.

The following editions have also appeared:—

1813. Hebrew by Bloch (Vienna).
1818. ,, with a preface by Moses Kunitz (Wilna).
1837. Polish by J. Tugenhold (Warsaw).
1842. French by Carmoly (Brussels, *Revue Orientale*, ii. pp. 491 *et seq.*).
1883. Italian by Nahmias (Florence).

The First Section

P. 108, l. 11. "*The Jews are wont to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, fermenting it with the blood of some Christians.*" This accusation, now known as the Blood Accusation, has been for many centuries the favourite superstition of the Jew-haters. It was revived by Prynne and Ross during Menasseh's sojourn in London. During the residence of the Jews in England previously to 1290, it played a conspicuous part in their persecution. (See Joseph Jacobs' "Little St. Hugh of Lincoln," *Jew. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, vol. i., especially pp. 92–99. "The Blood Accusation, its origin and occurrence in the Middle Ages," reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle*, 1883.) There is a very voluminous literature of the Blood Accusation (see especially Zunz's "Damaskus, ein Wort zur Abwehr," Berlin, 1859), but it has not hitherto been noticed that during the period the Jews were banished from England (1290–1655) the superstition continued to haunt the public mind. We have a curious instance of it in 1577. When John Foxe, the martyrologist, baptized a Moorish Jew named Nathaniel Menda, on April 1 of that year, at All Hallows, Lombard Street, he adopted the Blood Accusation in the address he delivered to celebrate the occasion. "Moreover, if he (Abraham) had seene your unappeaceable disorder without all remorse of mercy in persecuting his (Jesus's) disciples; your intolerable scorpionlike savageness, so furiously boyling against the innocent infants of the Christian

Gentiles: . . . would he ever accompted you for his sonnes." To which the printer's gloss runs thus: "Christen men's children here in Englande crucified by the Jewes, Anno 1189 and Anno 1141 at Norwiche, &c." (John Foxe, "A Sermon at the Christening of a certaine Iew at London," London, 1578; p. E. iii.) This sermon, originally delivered in Latin, was translated into English and published *in extenso*, together with the confession of Nathaniel Menda, in 1578. It was dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas Calvert, "Minister of the Word at York," was the next to lend his name to the superstition, and to give vigorous expression to it in his "Diatraba of the Jews' Estate." This was a preface to "The Blessed Jew of Marocco; or A Blackmoor made White, by Rabbi Samuel, a Jew turned Christian; written first in the Arabick, after translated into Latin, and now Englished" (York, 1648. The British Museum copy is dated in MS. "July 25, 1649.") His exact words are as follows:—

"So much are they (the Jews) bent to shed the blood of Christians, that they say a Jew needs no repentance for murdering a Christian; and they add to that sinne to make it sweet and delectable that hee who doth it, it is as if he had offered a *Corban* to the Lord, hereby making the abominable sin an acceptable sacrifice. But beyond all these they have a bloody thirst after the blood of Christians. In France and many kingdoms they have used yearly to steale a Christian boy and to crucifie him, fastning him to a crosse, giving him gall and vinegar, and running him in the end thorow with a spear, to rub their memories afresh into sweet thoughts of their crucifying Christ, the more to harden themselves against Christ and to shew their curst hatred to all Christians" (pp. 18–19).

John Sadler stands out conspicuously for dissociating himself from this baseless prejudice. When he wrote his "Rights of the Kingdom," in 1649, he summed up the matter in a happy and pithy manner: "Wee say, they (the Jews) crucified a child, or more. They doe deny it: and we prove it not" (p. 74). Undaunted by Sadler's championship of the Jews, James Howell followed Calvert, and in the Epistle Dedicatory to his pirated edition of Morvyn's translation of Joseph ben Gorion, "The wonderful and deplorable history of the latter times of the Jews" (London [June 2], 1652), he thus insinuated the truth of the charge:—

"The first Christian Prince that expelled the Jews out of his territories, was that heroik King, our Edward the First, who was such a sore scourge also to the Scots; and it is thought divers families of those banished Jews fled then to Scotland, where they have propagated since in great numbers, witness the aversion that nation hath above others to hog's flesh. Nor was this extermination for their

Religion, but for their notorious crimes, as poysoning of wells, counterfeiting of coines, falsifying of seales, *and crucifying of Christian children*, with other villanies."

Sadler was not the only English contemporary of Menasseh ben Israel who threw doubt on the Blood Accusation. Prynne himself relates in the preface to his "Demurrer" that he met Mr. Nye by the garden wall at Whitehall, when he was on his way to the Conference on the Jewish Question. "I told him," writes Prynne, "the Jews had been formerly clippers and forgers of money, *and had crucified three or four children in England at least*, which were principal causes of their banishment, to which he replied, that the crucifying of children was not fully charged on them by our historians, and would easily be wiped off." (Preface, p. 4.)

It is curious that, as Menasseh himself points out, the Jews were not alone at this period as sufferers from the Blood Accusation. ("Humble Addresses," p. 21.) Apart from the instance quoted by Menasseh, a similar charge was levelled at the Quakers, who were accused of the ritual murder of women. An illustrated tract on the subject will be found in *Historia Fanaticorum.* (See "Historia von den Wider-Tauffern," Cöthen, 1701.)

The Blood Accusation did not again make a conspicuous appearance in Anglo-Jewish history, but it is not improbable that the Damascus trials in 1840 produced a serious effect in retarding the progress of the struggle for emancipation. On the Continent, and in the Levant, it has frequently reappeared during the last thirty years.

P. 109, l. 8. "*In Iad a Razaka.*" Misprint for *Yad Hachazaka* ("The Strong Hand"), also called *Mishneh Torah*, an exposition of Jewish law by Moses Maimonides, written (in Hebrew) 1170–1180.

P. 111, l. 7. "*A particular blessing of the Prince or Magistrate.*" See note, *supra*, p. 163.

P. 112, l. 16. "*And every day the Jewes mainly strike.*" The belief that Jews habitually desecrated the sacramental wafer runs parallel with the Blood Accusation. A curious echo of it was heard in 1822, and the published account of the case was illustrated by George Cruikshank ("The Miraculous Host tortured by the Jews," Lond., 1822).

P. 114, l. 4. "*Wherefore I swear.*" This oath is famous in Jewish history, and has been over and over again quoted and reiterated on occasions of the revival of the Blood Accusation (see *e.g. Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 38).

P. 114, l. 20. "*John Hoornbeek in that book which he lately writ.*" The work referred to is *De Convertendis Judæis*, 1655.

P. 115, l. 28. "*In my continuation of Flavius Josephus.*" In the "Hope of Israel" (*supra*, p. 7), Menasseh announced his intention

of writing this work. From this passage it seems that he had now completed it, and that he had the MS. with him in London. It was never printed, as none of it has survived. It is curious that Menasseh does not mention it among his "Books ready for the Presse," of which he gave a list at the end of the *Vindiciæ* (see p. 147).

P. 116, l. 13. "*One Isaac Jeshurun.*" An account of his persecution was written in Hebrew by Aaron de David Cohen of Ragusa, and translated into Spanish under the title, *Memorable relacion de Ysbac Jesurun.* The work is in MS.; a copy was in the Almanzi Library.

P. 118, l. 30. "*That our nation had purchased S. Paul's Church.*" See Introduction, p. xli.

P. 118, l. 34. "*A fabulous narrative.*" Brett, "A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Great Councel of Jews assembled on the plain of Ageda" (Lond., 1655; reprinted in "The Phœnix," 1707, the "Harleian Miscellany," vol i., 1813, and in pamphlet form by Longmans & Co., 1876).

P. 121, l. 27. "*The book called Scebet Iehuda,*" ספר שבט יהודה, by Solomon Aben Verga, a Jewish chronicle of the sixteenth century. See German translation by Wiener (Hanover, 1856). The story related by Menasseh ben Israel will be found on pp. 77–78. It is not told of a "King of Portugal," but of a King of Spain.

P. 121, l. 32. "*Before one of the Popes, at a full Councell.*" For Papal Bulls on the Blood Accusation see "Die Blutbeschuldigung gegen die Juden von Christlicher Seite beurtheilt," Zweite Auflage (Vienna, 1883). Strack's "Blutaberglaube" (several editions) is the classical work on the subject.

The Second Section

P. 124, l. 16. "*The Israelites hold.*" This paragraph is a summary of the Thirteen Articles of Faith first drawn up by Moses Maimonides in 1168, and now incorporated in the Synagogue liturgy. Menasseh's summary, though admirably succinct, is not altogether perfect, and was apparently drafted with a view to the susceptibilities of the English Conversionists. A full translation of the thirteen creeds had, however, already appeared in England (see Chilmead's translation of Leo Modena's "The History of the Rites, Customes, and Manner of Life of the Present Jews," Lond., 1650, pp. 246–249).

P. 124, l. 28. "*A French book which he calleth the Rappel of the Jewes,*" Iaac la Peyrère "Rappel des Juifs."

The Third Section

The subject matter of this section, the alleged cursing of Gentiles, is, like the Blood Accusation, an obstinate delusion of the anti-Semites. It is

the burden of a very voluminous literature. See, among recent publications, Jellinek, "Der Talmudjude" (Vienna, 1882); Daab, "Der Thalmud" (Leipzig, 1883); Hirsch, "Über die Beziehung des Talmuds zum Judenthum" (Frankfort, 1884); and Hoffmann, "Der Schulchan Aruch und die Rabbinen über das Verhältniss der Juden zu Andersgläubigen" (Berlin, 1885).

P. 127, l. 31. "*Prayers for Kings and Princes.*" See note, *supra*, p. 163.

P. 128, l. 6. "*The form of prayer in the book entitled The Humble Addresses*," *supra*, p. 92.

P. 133, l. 25. "*Wise and vertuous Lady Beruria.*" The most famous of the women mentioned in the Talmud. She was the daughter of Rabbi Chanina ben Tradjon, and wife of Rabbi Meir (Kayserling, "Jüdischen Frauen," pp. 120–124).

P. 133, l. 26. "*R. Meir.*" A distinguished pupil of the great Rabbi Akiba, and one of the most famous of the authors of the Talmud. He lived in the second century (Levy, "Un Tanah," Paris, 1883; Blumenthal, "Rabbi Meir," Frankfurt, 1888).

The Fourth Section

P. 134, l. 14. "*Buxtorphius.*" Johann Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), the greatest Christian Hebraist of his day. Professor of Hebrew at Basle.

P. 136, l. 22. "*R. David Gawz.*" David Gans (1541–1631), a Jewish chronicler, mathematician, and astronomer, author of *Zemach David*. He lived in Prague, and was a friend of Tycho Brahe and Keppler (Klemperer, "David Gans's Chronikartige Weltgeschichte," Prague, 1890).

P. 136, l. 25. "*Antonius Margarita.*" His name was Aaron Margalita. He was an ignorant Polish Jew, who became converted to Christianity and placed his services at the disposal of the Jew-haters (Graetz, "Geschichte," vol. x. pp. 313–314).

The Fifth Section

P. 137, l. 18. "*I have held friendship with many great men.*" Menasseh's circle of Christian friends was large and distinguished. His intimacy with Rembrandt has already been referred to (*supra*, pp. 149–150). Among his other friends were Hugo Grotius, the learned family of Vossius, Episcopius, Vorstius, Meursius, Cunæus, Blondel, Chr. Arnold, Bochart, Huet, Sobierre, Felgenhauer, Frankenberg, Mochinger, and Caspar Barlæus.

P. 137, l. 23. "*Many verses in my commendations.*" The poem by Barlæus here referred to was prefixed to Menasseh's treatise "De Creatione" (Amsterdam, 1636), together with congratulatory

sonnets by Himanuel Nehamias, Mossch Pinto, Jona Abravanel, and Daniel Abravanel. It ran as follows :—

EPIGRAMMA,
IN
PROBLEMATA
Clarissimi viri Manassis Ben-Israel,
De Creatione.

Qvæ cœlos terrasq́; manus, spatiosaq́; Nerei
Æquora, & immẽsas, quas habet orbis opes,
Condiderit, mersuniq́; alta caligine mundum
Iusserit imperijs ilicet esse suis:
Disserit Isacides. Et facta ingentia pandit;
Et nondum exhaustum contrahit arte Deum.
Hìc atavos patresq́; suos & verba recenset,
Sensaq́; Thalmudicæ relligiosa Scholæ.
Vera placẽt, placet egregijs conatibus author,
Et pietas fidei disparis ista placet.
Cunctorum est coluisse Deum. Non unius ævi,
Non populi unius credimus, esse pium.
Si sapimus diversa, Deo vivamus amici,
Doctaq́; mens precio constet ubiq́; suo.
Hæc fidei vox summa meæ est. Hæc crede *Menasse*.
Sic ego Christiades, sic eris Abramides.

C. Barlævs.

The Seventh Section

P. 144, l. 37. "*Wherefore those few Jewes that were here, despairing of our expected successe departed hence.*" This can only refer to Menasseh's companions on his mission. With two exceptions all the Marranos in London at the time of Menasseh's arrival remained in the country.

P. 145, l. 34. "*From my study in London.*" See *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 144–150.

INDEX

ABARBANEL, David, lxxxvi
Abarbanel, Ephraim, lxix
Abarbanel family, claimed descent from King David, xxxiii, 154 (notes)
Abarbanel, Isaac, Jewish statesman, councillor to King of Spain and Portugal, 19, 45, 49, 91, 154 (notes), 163 (notes), cited, 122
Abarbanel, Samuel, 49. (*See also* Abravanel)
Abel-beth-maachah, 29
Aben Ezra, 109
Aben Jaes, Jacob = Alvaro Mendez, 47 (*see* Jachya, Ibn)
Aben Karis, Rabbi Juda, 34
Aboab, Imanuel, cited, 162, 163 (notes)
Abravanel, Daniel, 170 (notes)
Abravanel, Jona, 170 (notes)
Abravanela, Bienvenida = Benuenida, 49, 159 (notes)
Abyssinia, Falashas of, 156 (notes)
Abyssins, country of the, 40; kingdom of the, 42
Acosta, cited, 54
Acosta, Sir Duarte Nunes d', 89, 163 (notes)
Acosta, Josephus, 18
Acosta, P., cited, 22
Acuzainitenses, 22
Adler, Rev. Dr. H., xxiii (cited), *n.*, xxvii, *n.*
Adler, Marcus, 155 (notes)
Admiralty Commissioners, lxv
Africa, 6, 21, 44, 113; battle in, 51; North-West, 156 (notes)
Agathais, cited, 32
Ageda, 118; Council of Jews assembled on the Plain of, 167 (notes)
Agrippa, 129, 130, 131; cities of King, 36
Agrippa's Oration, 35
Akiba, Rabbi, 169 (notes)
Alacron, Lord Lope de Veray, turned Jew, was burnt by Inquisition, 47
Alciat, 96
Alexander the Great, 128, 130, 140, 141
Alexandria, 19, 44; people of, accuse Jews of being thieves, 40
Alholu, D. Abraham, 49, 86, 159 (notes)
Allen, Hannah, 151
Almadiæ, *see* Ethiopian ships, 34
Alonsius, son of John II., 51
Alonsus, P., cited, 55
Alphonso II., Duke of Ferrara, 88
Alphonso V., of Portugal, 154 (notes)
Alphonso the Wise, King of Spain, declares Blood Accusation false, 102; gave liberty to Jews to dwell in his country, 121
Atlas, Gabriel de Rivas, 150 (notes)
Alva, Duke of, 39
Alvalensi, Samuel, 91
Amarat, Sultan, 85
Amarkela, R. Joseph, 33
America, lxxviii, 18, 20, 23, 27, 42, 44, 55, 56; first inhabitants of, 54; Jews in, 152 (notes), 153 (notes); people of, 6; South, xxiv; Synagogues in, 52; "Ten Tribes of Israel in, Account of," 52 (notes); Williams founds community in, xix
American Indians, xxiv
Americans, 41; origin of, 152 (notes)
Americus, 17
Amon, Moses, physician and trans-

lator of Pentateuch into Persian and Arabian, 113, 135, 160 (notes)
Amorites, 57
Amsterdam, xiii, xxxiii, xxxvi, lxviii, lxxi, lxxvii, lxxviii, 88, 109, 117, 120, 150 (notes), 161 (notes); English converts to Judaism, xxi; Jews of, lxxiii; Jewish cemetery of, 160 (notes); Jewish merchants of, xxx, xxxi; Magistrates of, xvii, 144; Marrano congregations, xiv; Menasseh becomes acquainted with Dury, xxiv; Menasseh's printing office at, xxxvii *n.*; Montezinos relates his story before Synagogue, xxv (*see* Mussaphia), 159 (notes); Rabbinate at, xxxii; Separatists, xviii, xix; "Spes Israelis," xxii; Synagogue at, xxv; visited by Lord St. John, iii
Amurat, Sultan, 47, 86
"An Apologie for the Honourable Nation of Jews," 103
Anaucus, 49, 159 (notes)
Ancona, 96, 98
Andalusia (Andaluzia), xii, xxxiii, 93
Andes of Cusco, 24
Andro, Earl of, Joseph Nasino, 86
Anian, 31; kingdom of, 20, 21; Sea of the Strait of, 55; Strait of, 29, 53, 55
Anjou, Henry of, elected King of Poland, 159 (notes)
Anti-Jewish Petition, lxxi, lxxii
Anti-Semitic pamphleteers, lvii
Anti-Semites, xlii, lx, lxii, lxv, lxxiv
Antipater, 90
Antioch, 40; Daphne of, 35
Antiochus, 62, 76, 119, 130; the end of, 51
Antonius, Marcus, 129
Antwerp, Hebrew bankers of, xv; Marrano Jews of, xiv
Apion, 120, 129, 130, 131, 135; and the Blood Accusation, 119
"Apologia Contra Gentes," 120
Apostolical Roman Church, xxxiv
Apostolical Roman Seat, 98
Appeal to the English nation, xxxvii
Aquebah, Rabbi, one of the compilers of the Mishna, 36, 157 (notes) (*see* Akiba)
Aquibah, Rabbi, 48 (*see* Aquebah)
Aquirre, killed Petrus d'Orsna, 24; killed at Margareta, 25
Arabians, 7; derivation of Sabbathion, 37
Aragon, xiii
Aragon, Catherine of, xv
Araguza = Ragusa, 102, 116, 164 (notes)
"Araucana, La," 155 (notes)
Arca, 36, 38
Aristæus = Aristeas, cited, 124, 130
Armada, xv
Arnebet, wife of Ptolomy, 127
Arnold, Chr., 169 (notes)
Arsareth, 20
Artaxerxes, 120
Aschkenazi, Rabbi Solomon ben Nathan = Don Selomo Rophe, 49, 159 (notes)
Asher, A., cited, 158 (notes)
Asia, 6, 21, 35, 41, 44, 54, 55, 82, 113, 124; East, 32; Jews in, 50, 129; Kings of, 130
"Asirim Rabba" = Shir Ha-Shirim Rabba, 36, 157 (notes)
Asor, Tribe of, 32
Assembly at Whitehall, 144
Assumean, Diogo d' = Diogo da Asunçao, turned Jew, burnt by Inquisition, 47, 158 (notes)
Assyria, lxxviii, 29, 36, 40, 42, 44, 45, 53; Benhadad of, 111; King of, 37 (*see* Pul, 29)
Astrologer of Prague (*see* Jacobus Verus), 28
Asuay, 153 (notes)
Asunçao, Diogo da (*see* Assumean)
Atagualpa, 22
Athens, 55
Athenians, 97
Atlantic Islands, 6
Atlantis, 54
Attica, inundation of, 55
Augusta, Julia, wife of Augustus Cæsar, 130
Augustine, cited, 103, 130 (*see* Austin)
Augustinianus, Alonsus, 21

Index

Augustus Cæsar, 129, 130
Auns, 32
Austin, cited, 56
Austine the Monk, 68
Austria, 115
Ayacucho = Guamanga 155 (notes)
Ayala, Pedro Lopez d', 163 (notes)
Azahel, Rabbi Jacob ben, xxxvii *n.*
Azores, 21

"BABLI, The," Talmud, 157 (notes)
Babylon, 35, 39, 40, 42, 64, 92 ; captivity of, 41, 43, 93 ; redemption from, 42 ; rivers of, 36
Babylonian Talmud, cited, 36, 43, 157 (notes)
Bagdad, 85
Bahia Honda = Port Honda = Puerto de Santa Crus, 153 (notes)
Bairos, Johannes de, 38
Bajaseth, Bajazet, Sultan, 50, 97
Baker, Richard, lxxi *n.*
Balaam, 46
Balboa, Basco Nunez de, 19
Balmas, R. Abraham de, 50, 160 (notes)
Baltasar, 129
"Bamibar Raba" = Bamidbar Rabba, 36, 157 (notes)
Bancroft, cited, 152 (notes)
Banishments from England, France, Spain, 46
Baptist, John the, 30
Baptists, xviii
Bar Cochba, the Pseudo-Messiah, 157 (notes)
Bara, Jan, 157 (notes)
Barbadoes, xxxi, xxxvii
Barbary, 49 ; Kingdom of, 88
Barcelona, Disputation of Grundensis at, 157 (notes)
Barleus, Gaspar, 137 = Barlæus, Caspar, 169 (notes)
Barlovent, Isle of, 18 ; Islands of, 54
Barlow, cited, l, liv
Barrios, Daniel Levy de, cited, 162, 163 (notes)
Baruch, cited, 129
Basle, 169 (notes)
Bathsebah, Jacob = Jacob Basevi Schmieles, received title von Treuenburg, 50, 160 (notes)
Batueca, 39
Bazalel, 75
Beleeving Judas, 47 (*see* Alacron)
Belmonte, Ishak, 150 (notes)
Benhadad, King of Assyria, 111
Ben Jaefe, D., 49
Benjamin, tribe of, 7, 36, 39, 40, 52, 66, 70, 85
Benjamin, R., cited, 32
Benjamin of Tudela, 156 (notes)
Benn, William, xlviii
Benuenida, wife of Samuel Abarbanel, 49, 159
"Beresit Rabba," 36, 157 (notes)
Bergarensis, Caspar, 25
Berkshire, Earl of, lxxiv
Bermuda Company, xlvii
Beruria, daughter of Rabbi Chanina ben Tradjon, wife of Rabbi Meir, 133, 169 (notes)
Bethar, 157 (notes)
Bialloblotzky, cited, 155 (notes)
"Bibliotheca Rabbinica," 134, 147
Biddle, xl
Blake, xl
Blood Accusation, 108, 165 (notes), 166, 167 (notes) ; the Pope declared false, in full Council, 102
"Bloudy Tenent of Persecution," xix
Blumenthal, cited, 169 (notes)
Bochardus, Samuel, 40
Bochart, 169 (notes)
Bodleian Library, xli
Bohemian Jews, lxx
Bomberg, Daniel, famous Venetian printer, 160 (notes)
Bondel, 169 (notes)
Bondi, Abraham de, Ambassador for Alphonso II., 88
Bordeaux, lxxi
Borja, St. Franciscus de, 25
Boterus, 33 ; cited, 34, 49
Boyle, Robert, l *n.*
Bozara, 48
Bozius, 54
Brahe, Tycho, 169 (notes)
Brasil, Seignory of, 91
Brazil, xxxiii, xxxvii ; Negroes of, 101

Brazilians, 26
Brerewood, Edw., 152 (notes)
Breslau, Mart of, 38
Bridge, William, xlviii
Brightman, 58
Brito, Abraham Israel de, lxxxvi
Brittaines of Bangor, 68
Broughton, 68 ; cited, 161 (notes)
Bruges, lxviii, lxxiii
Bulkeley, l
Bulls on the Blood Accusation, Papal, 168 (notes)
Burchmannus, Otto, Ambassador to Persia, 49, 50
Burgos, Jews of, 90
Busher, Leonard, xix, xxi ; "Religious Peace," xviii
Buxtorfius = Buxtorphius, 134, 136, 157, 169 (notes)

CABALA, The, 33
Caceres, Jahocob de = Simon de Caceres, xxxvi, xxxvii, lxvii, lxxiii, lxxxvi
Cadiz, xiv, lxxi
Cæsar, Augustus, 129, 130
Cæsar, Julius, 90
Cæsarensis, Eusebius, cited, 131
Caius, Emperor, 129, 131
Callao = Collai, 155 (notes)
"Calling of the Jewes, The," xxi
Calvert, Thomas, 166 (notes)
Calvinists, xviii
Cambridge University, xlviii
Canaan, 57
Canaanites, 6, 54
Cantipratensis, Thomas, cited, 115
Captivity of Babylon, 41, 43 ; First, 64
Captivity, Roman, 93
Caracas = Garracas, 155 (notes)
Caribbean Sea, 154 (notes)
Carlyle, xxix *n*, lxiv *n*
Carmoly, 156 (notes); cited, 159 (notes)
Carter, John, xlviii
Carthage, 19
Carthaginians, 6, 18, 97
Carthegenia = Cartagena, 12, 154 (notes)
Cartwright, Ebenezer, xx
Cartwright, Johanna, xx
Cartwright Petition, xxi
Carvajal, Antonio Fernandez = Abraham Israel Carvajal, xxxv, lxii, lxvii, lxxiii, lxxxvi
Carybes Indians, 27
Caryll, John, xlviii, l.
Caspian Sea, 38, 40, 152 (notes)
Cassel, D. Paulus, 153 (notes), xliii
Cassius, Dion, cited, 55
Castellanus, Franciscus, 11 *n.*
Castile, 91, 93, 94, 97, 138
Castoel, David, 85
Castoel, Samuel, 85
Castro, Balthasar Orobio de, xiii
Castro, de, xv *n.*, xxi, 151 ; cited, 163 (notes)
Castro, Henriques de, cited, 159 (notes)
Catherine of Aragon, xv
Cazici, 16 ; Hebrew, 17
Cazicus, Francis, 11 *n.*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 153 (notes)
Chachapoyas, Province of, 24
Chaldy Paraphrase, 43 ; Targum (*q.v.*)
Chalossi taken to Spain by de Quiros and died there, 26
Chamfanfu, 29
Chanan, 23
Chanina ben Tradjon, Rabbi (*see* Beruria)
Chanut, xli *n.*
Charles I., xx, xxiii
Charles II., lxx ; re-entered London, lxxi ; under obligation to Jews, lxxiii, lxxiv
Charles V., Emperor, 23, 33, 95, 96
Charles, Infant, 51
Chequiona, 30
Chersonesus, the Golden, 19
Chiefi, Cardinal de, 98
Child, Sir Josiah, lxxv, lxxvi
Chili, xxxvii
Chiliast, 70
Chillon, Isak Lopes, lxxxvi
Chilmead, xlii ; cited, 168 (notes)
China, 20, 29, 31, 42 ; Hebrew settlements in, 155 (notes); Jews in, 155 (notes); people of, 6 ; tongue, 30
Chineses, 30

Chmielnicki, 162 (notes)
Christiani, Pablo, 158 (notes)
Christological Oath, lxvii
Chudworth, xlvii
Chus, 40
Chutuytu, Lake, 21
Cicero cited, 135
Cieza, Petrus = Pedro Cieça de Leon, cited, 22, 155 (notes)
Cimedro, Alfonsus, a Jesuit, 30
Civil War, xxiii, xxiv
Clement VII., 94, 96
Cleopatra, 130
Clissa, 88
Cobham, 142
Coccejus, Joh., 157 (notes)
Cochin, 162 ; Jews in, 85
Cochini, King = King of Cochin, 50, 159 (notes)
Cœn, Rabbinus Josephus = Rabbi Joseph ben Meir the Sephardi = Cohon, 33, 155 (notes)
Cohen, Aaron de David, 168 (notes)
Coimbra, Marrano Archdeacon of, xiii
Colchester, xxi, 151 (notes)
Collai = Callao, 21, 155 (notes)
Collier, xliii *n.*
Colombia, Republic of, 153 (notes); United States of, 154 (notes)
Columbus, Christopher, xii, 17, 158 (notes)
Commonwealth of England, xv, xxxii, xli, 111 ; appeal to, in "Humble Addresses," xxxviii ; commercial interests of, xxxiii ; end of, lxx, lxxi ; notable gathering, xlvii ; Scotland, Ireland, 162 (notes); declaration to the, 78
"Conciliator," 146
Conference, Whitehall (*see* Whitehall Conference)
Constantinople, 49 ; Jews in, 85, 113 ; Synagogue of, 86
Conversion of the Jews, considerations upon the point of the, 57, 161 (notes)
Conversionists, xl, xlii ; English, xxii, 168 (notes)
Copley, xliii *n.*
Copta, 91
Cordier, Henri, 155 (notes)
Cordilleras, xxiv, 6, 11 *n.*, 25, 54, 153 157 (notes)
Cordova, Gonsalvo de, xiv
Coronel, Augustin, xli, lxxiii ; knighted, lxxv
Cortez, 17
Cosaques killed Jews, 87
Cosmo the Great, Duke of Florence, 97
Costa, da, xiv *n.*, xli, 163, cited (notes); Isaac, 162 (notes) ; Joseph, 150 (notes) ; Mendez, lxxiii
Council of Army Officers, xx
Council of Mechanics, xix
Council of State, xxi, xxxiv, xxxv, xlv, xlvi, xlvii, liv, lv, lxi, lxv, lxvi, 157 (notes) ; "Hope of Israel" dedicated to, 3, 144 ; Menasseh's petition sprung on, xlvi ; received copies of "Humble Addresses," xliv ; receives Robles's petition, lxiv
Council of State's report, lxxxiv
Council of Trent, lxxxi
Cracow, Jews in, 87
Craddock, Walter, xlviii
Crawford, xxix *n.*
Crequi, Marshal de, xiii
Cressett, xlvii
Cretensis, Elias = Elia del Medigo, 50, 160 (notes)
Critia, Plato's, 54
Cromwell, Oliver, xvi, xx, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, xl, lxvi ; action of, lii, lvi ; adds members to the Conference, l ; adherents of, xlviii ; admits Jews as citizens of one of the colonial dependencies of Great Britâin, xxxvii ; assures London Marranos of his protection, lviii ; best speech of, liii ; brings petition before Council, xliv ; campaign of, lxxv ; dismisses conference, liv ; favours Jewish question, xlv, xlix ; gives monetary help to Menasseh, lxix ; intentions of, lix ; laid down programme of proceedings at Conference, xlviii ; Menasseh's mission to, lxxiii
Cromwell, Henry, li, liv *n.*

Cromwell, Richard, lxxi, lxxxvii
Cromwell's Council issue invitation to Whitehall Conference, xlvi, lxxxiv; negotiations with Marranos, lxii
Crouch, lii
Cruikshank, George, 167 (notes)
Crypto-Jews, lxv (*see* Marranos)
Cuba, 18, 153 (notes)
Cunæus, 169 (notes)
Cusco, Andes of, 24
Customs, Commissioners of, lxi
Cuthah, 39
Cyprus conquered by Nassi for the Turks, 159 (notes)
Cyrus, 40; decree of, 129; proclamation of, 64

DAAB, cited, 169 (notes)
Daghistan, Jews of, 151 (notes)
Dalmatia, 88
Damascus trials, the, 167 (notes)
Dan, tribe of, 32
Danita, Eldad = Eldad the Danite, 33. 38, 156 (notes)
Danites, 31
Daphne of Antioch, 35
Darius, 129
Davis, Israel, cited, lxvii
Davis Strait, 20
"De Civetate Dei Assentos," 130
"De Cultu Imaginum contra Pontificus Latine," 147
"De disciplinus Rabbinorum," 147
"De divinitate legis Mosaicæ," 147
"De fragilitate humana," 146
"De Medico Hebræo," 161 (notes)
"De Resurrectione mortuorum libri tres," 146
"De Termino Vitæ," 48, 146, 149 (notes), 159 (notes)
Demetrius, 128, 130
"Demurrer," lvii
Denmark, King of, xxxvi, 51, 84, 89
Dethick, xlvii
Diana, 118
"Die Jüdischen Frauen," 159 (notes) (*see* Benuenida)
Diodorus, cited, 55
Disraeli, Coningsby, descendant of Abarbanels on mother's side, 154 (notes)
Domus Conversorum, xi
Dormido, David Abarbanel = Manuel Martinez Dormido, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xliv, xlv, lxvii
Dormido, Solomon, lxvii
Dorstius, William, cited, 136
Dort, Conference at, 68
Dover, xiv
Draco, 98
Drucker, Mordechai ben Moses, 151 (notes)
"Du Rappel des Juifs," lxxx
Duerus = Duero = Douro, 13, 154 (notes)
Duretu, Claudius, cited, 50
Dury, John, xxii, xxiv, xxv *n.*, xxvi *n.*, xliii *n.*; at Cassel, xliii; distributes Latin edition of "Hope of Israel" among leading Puritans, xxvii; corresponds with Menasseh ben Israel, xxvi; received Thorowgood's treatise, xxv, 67, 152 (notes)
Dutch, xxx, xxxiii
Dutch East India Company, xxx
Dwight, H. T., 162 (notes)
Dyke, Daniel, xlviii

EAST India, 54
East India Company, lxxv, lxxvi, 88
East India Company, Dutch, xxx
East Indies, 19, 20
Ecuador, 153 (notes)
Edom, 53, 113
Edward I., xi, lvii, 142, 166 (notes); Edict of banishment of Jews, xv
Edwards, author of "Gangrena," xix
Egypt, lxxviii, 40, 42, 44, 45, 49, 53, 87; inundations of, 55; Joseph in, 44; kings of, 90; pasha of, has Jewish treasurer (*see* Alhulu), 159 (notes); river of, 41; Saladin, King of, 50
Egyptian, 101
Egyptius, Moses = Moses Maimonides, 45, 158 (notes)
Ehrentheil, cited, xiii *n.*
Elah (*see* Hosea or Hoshea), 29, 44
Elam, 40
"Eldad Ha-Dani," 156 (notes)
Eleazar, 130

Elhazar, 49
Eliezer, David ben, xxxvii *n.*
Eliot, John, xxiv, 152 (notes), 166
Elisha, 64
Elizabeth, Queen, xiv, xv, 159 (notes), 166 (notes)
Emanuel, King of Portugal, 51, 94, 95, 97, 163 (notes); cruelty of, 99
Embassies in London, xl; in Holland, xl
"Emek Habacha," 163 (notes)
l'Empereur, Constantine, 35, 156 (notes)
England, banishments of, 46
Enrique, Don, 163 (notes)
Ephraim, 41, 42, 69, 70; Tribe of, 43
Epicureans, 125
Epiphanius, 76
Episcopius, 169 (notes)
Epstein, cited, 156 (notes)
Erzilla, Alonsus de = Alonzo d'Ercilla y Zuñiga, 24; cited, 155 (notes)
"Esdras," 37; cited, 56; quoted by Genebrardus, 20
"Esperanza de Israel," 152 (notes); cited, 155 (notes), 157 (notes)
Espinosa, Michael, 150 (notes)
Esquilache, 25
Essex, Earl of, xiv
l'Estrange, Sir Hamon, 152 (notes)
Estrozi, Seignor Philip, 96
Ethiopia, 6, 34, 40; Ten Tribes, 156 (notes); Ethiopian ships, 34 (*see* Almadiæ)
Eucharistical sacrifices, 130
Euphrates, 20, 35, 39, 40, 41, 44, 56
Eurgetes, Ptolomy, 130
Europe, 6, 21, 35, 42, 82; Menasseh has friendships with eminent men of, 137
Eusebius, cited, 55
Evelyn, John, lvi
Everard the Leveller, xxi
Expulsion of Jews, lvii, 154 (notes); from England, xi; from Spain, xiv, 163 (notes)
Ezion-Geber, 19
Ezra, Aben, cited, 109
Ezras, 136
FAGIUS, 161 (notes)
Fairclough, Samuel, xlviii
Fairfax, Lord, xx
Falashas of Abyssinia, 156 (notes)
Famian, 47
Fano, Lord Joseph de, Marquis de Villependi, 87
Farisol or Peretsol, Abraham = Abraham Frisol Orchotolam, author of "Orchat Olam," 156 (notes) (*see* Frisol)
Farnambuc = Pernambuco, 25, 28, 48, 155 (notes) (*see* Fernambuc)
Farnesia (*see* Paul III.), 94
Faro, Abraham Enriques, 150 (notes)
Felgenhauer, xxv, xxxviii, xxxix, lxxix, 161 (notes), 169 (notes)
Felibert, Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, 97
Ferdinand, xi, 51, 91, 93, 102, 138; King, 94; Bathsebah knighted under reign of, 160; of Naples, 154 (notes); Emperor, 160 (notes); of Spain, 39
Ferdinandus, 17
Ferrara = Ferrare = Ferraria, 87; Alphonso II., Duke of, 88; Hercules, Duke of, 34, 97, 163 (notes) (*see* Usque)
Fez, King of, 91
Fifth Monarchy men, xv, xxi
Finch, Sergeant, xxi
Finicus, Marcilius, cited, 54
Firth, cited, xx *n.*
Firuz, 31
"Flavius Josephus adversus Apionem," 147
Flemburgh, 109
Florence, Duke of (*see* Cosmo the Great), 97
Forbes, 68
Founders of the Protectorate, xlvii
Foxe, John, 165 (notes); cited, 166 (notes)
"Fragmenta Sacra," 68
France, xxix, lxii, lxxiii, lxxx, 33, 166 (notes); banishments of, 46; King of, 124; Philip of, 51; Loysia de Medici, 50
Francis I. of France, 33
Franciscus de Borgia, St., 25

Franco, Abraham, 150 (notes)
Frankenberg, Abraham, a Silesian mystic, lxxx, 149 (notes), 169 (notes)
Frankfort, Franckfurt, 151 (notes); Jews in, 86
Frederick, Emperor, cited, 115
Frisol, Rabbi Abraham, cited, 34, 38 (*see* Farisol)
Fullana, Nicholas de Oliver y, xiii
Fuller, xxi *n.*, xxii, xxvii

GABBAI, Jedidjah Ibn, 151 (notes)
Gad, tribe of, 29
Galatine, Peter, 72
Galilee, 29
Ganges, 38, 39
Garcias, 23
Gardiner, xxix, xxx, lviii, lxxxiv
Garracas, 23
Garzoni, Thomas, 50
Gath, 125
Gawz, R. David = David Gans, 136, 169 (notes)
Gazim, 125
Gehazi, 64
Geluckstadt, 84
Genebrardus, 20, 21
Geneva, xvii, xviii; Jews go to, 145
"Geographie du Talmud," 153 (notes)
Gerizim, Mount, 128
German-Austrian Beast, the, 57
Germany, Jews in, 77, 86; usury in, 120
Gerona, birthplace of Gerundensis, 157 (notes)
Gerundensis, R. Moses = Moses ben Nachman = Nachmanides = Ramban, 157 (notes); cited, 37, 45
Gibbs, 163 (notes)
Gibeonites, the, 111
Gilead, 69; Hazor-Gilead, 29
"Glory of Jehudah and Israel, The," lxxx, 103
Glynne, Sir John, xlvii, xlix
Gog, Battle of, 44; War of, 43, 52
Golden Chersonesus, the, 19
Golden Land, the, 19
Goleta, 95
Gomara, cited, 54 (*see* Gomoras)
Gomaza, 22
Gomez, Antonio Enriquez, 158 (notes);
Gomez, Gabriel, agent for King of Denmark, 89
Gomoras = Francisco Lopes de Gomara, 20, 21, 154 (notes)
Gonzales, Abraham Coen, lxxxvi
Goodwin, xlvii, l
Gorion, Joseph ben = Gorionides, 128, 129, 166 (notes)
Goropius, 53
Gozan, 37–38; river, 32, 33, 38, 39
Gracias, Gregorius, 22
Graetz, cited, xii, xiii, xiv, xxiii, xxvii, xxxvii, xxxix, lix, lxx, 154–162 (notes), 169 (notes)
Grammaticus, Elias = Elias Levita, 50, 160 (notes)
Granada, 93
Grecians, 7
Greece, Monarch of, 131
Greenland, 20
Grotius, Hugo, 20, 169 (notes)
Guainacapacus, 22
Guamanga, 22
Guariaga = Indians living near river of that name, 25; River, 24, 25
Guatemala, Indians of, 23
Guayaquil, 153 (notes)
Guinea, negroes of, 101
Günsburg, cited, 161 (notes)
Guppy, H. B., cited, 155 (notes)
Guz, 37

HABOR, 33, 39
Habyssins, 34; kingdom of the = Abyssinia, 34, 40
Hadrian, 157 (notes)
Hagarens, the, 125
Haggai, 136
Haghe, the = Hague, the, xxiv, xxxi, 49
Halah, 33, 39
Halévy, cited, 156 (notes)
Hamath, 40, 41
Hamborough, 116
Hamburg, 89, 100; Bank, xxx; Jews at, 49; Marranos founded congregations at, xiv
Hamburger, cited, 153 (notes), 156 (notes), 158 (notes)

Hamchen, 30
Hara, 39
Hartlib, Samuel, 63
Havana, 153 (notes)
Hazor-Gilead, 29
Hebræus, Jacobus Rosales, lxxx
Hebraism of English religious thought, xv
Hebrew Cazici, 17
Hebrew tongue, the, 47
Hebrews, 7; laws and customs of the, 22
Heliodorus, 128
Henrique, Don, 90
Henry VIII., xv
Hercules, Duke of Ferraria, 34, 55, 97
Herrera, Alonzo de, xiv; cited, 56
Heschel, Rabbi Joshua ben Jacob, xxxvii *n.*
Heseah, cited, 131
Hierome, S., 119
Hierusalem, 26
Hijah, Abraham bar Ribi=Abraham ben Chijahha-Nasi of Barcelona, 45, 158 (notes)
Hindostan, Jewish settlers in, xii
"Hippocratis Aphorismi," 147
Hircanus, High Priest, 129
Hirsch, cited, 169 (notes)
Hispaniola, 23
"Historia sive continuatio Flavii Josephi," 147
"History of the Jews," 51
Hoffmann, cited, 169 (notes)
Holland, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, lxii, lxxiii, 82, 100, 120, 137; embassies in, xl; Jews of, 77, 83; Royalist spies in, xviii
Holmes, Nathaniel, xxv, xxvi, lxxx, lxxxii
Holstace, 89
Holstein, Duke of, 49, 50
Holy Land, 41, 42, 66, 163 (notes), (*see* Usque)
Holy Mount at Jerusalem, 44
Holy Office, Tribunals of, xiii
Honan, 29
Honda, 11 *n.*, 12, 16; Port, 153 (notes) (*see* Bahia Honda)
Hoornbeek, John, 114; cited, 136, 167 (notes)
"Hope of Israel, The," xvii, xviii, xxvi, xxxix, lxxviii, 7, 17, 65, 144, 149–154 (notes), 157 (notes), 164 (notes), 167 (notes); translated into Dutch, Spanish, Judeo-German, Hebrew, 151 (notes)
Hord-Jerida, 31
Hord of Naphtali, 31
Howell, James, 166 (notes)
Huarte, Johannes, 54
Huet, 169 (notes)
"Humas," 146
"Humble Addresses, The," xxxvi, xxxviii, xl, xlii, xliv, xlv, 73, 75, 128, 160, 162, 167 (notes); cited, 169 (notes); Bibliographical note, 161 (notes)
Hungaria, 18
Huns, 32
Huza, Elhazar, 85
Hyde, Thomas, 156 (notes)

"IAD A RAZAKA"="Yad Hachazaka"=Mishneh Torah, 109, 167 (notes)
Iaes, Jacob ben, Governor of Tiberiades, 86 (*see* Jachya, Ibn)
Ian, David, 85
Idumean, 101
Iecells, Isaac=probably Asher ben Joseph of Cracow, 87, 162 (notes)
Ijon, 29
Inde Maienses, Province of, 25
Independents, xix, xlviii; extreme, xx; Messianic beliefs held by, xxi; rise of, xviii
India, 15, 19, 20, 21, 26, 33, 41, 50, 162 (notes); Jews in, 85; Upper, 38
Indian, 154 (notes)
Indian Company, West, xxx, 88
Indian Sea, 19
Indians, 6, 17, 22, 28, 38, 54, 56; American, xxiv; Carybes, 27; countries of the, 24; first baptized and then murdered by Spaniards, 113; forced to swear fealty to King of Spain, 25; of Guatemala, 23; of Jucatan, 22; of New Spain and Peru, 18, 23; of Oronoch, 27; of Peru, 23

ndies, East, 19, 20 ; Inquisition in the, 28 ; Spaniards dwelling in the, 20
Indies, West, xxxvi, 19, 40, 53 ; cities and provinces of, 28
Ingram, Robert, 151, 152 (notes)
Inquisition, The, xii, xxxiii, xxxiv, lxiv, lxv, lxxiii, lxxviii, 51, 83, 94, 95, 114, 164 (notes) ; calamities of the, 48 ; in the Indies, 28 ; Portuguese, 163 (notes) ; Spanish, 47, 82, 138
Inquisitors make King and Queen of Spain take an oath to uphold the Catholic faith in their dominions at an "act of the faith," 117
Isabel, 51
Isabel Island = Isle of Solomon, 155 (notes)
Isabel of Spain, 39
Isabella, xi, 91, 93, 102, 138, 154 (notes)
Isaiah, Paul, xlii
Islands of the Sea, 40, 41
Islands of the West, 41
Ismael, 113
Israel, 69 ; redemption of, 52 ; return of to their country, 45
Israel, Menasseh ben (*see* Menasseh)
Israel, Samuel ben, lxix
Israelites of the Tribe of Reuben, xxiv
Israelitish Senate, 118
Italia, Salom, Jewish line-engraver, executed portrait of Menasseh ben Israel, 149 (notes)
Italy, xvii, 33, 82, 87, 100, 117, 120, 137 ; Jews go to, 145 ; Jews in, 77, 83 ; Princes of, 50, 51, 96, 121 ; Princes of Italy declare Blood Accusation false, 102

JACHYA, Ibn = Ben Jaese, 159 (notes)
Jacob, Eliakim ben, 155 (notes)
Jacobs, Joseph, 152 (notes), cited ; 165 (notes)
Jaes, Jacob Aben, Duke of Mytilene = Alvaro Mendez = Don Solomon, uncle of Joseph Nasi, 47, 159 (notes) (*see* Jachya, Ibn)
Jaese, D. ben, 49, 159 (notes)
Jalcut, 36, 157 (notes)
Jamaica, xxxi, xxxvii
James I. imprisons publisher of "The Calling of the Jews," xxi
Jan, David, 49 (*see* Ian)
Japhe, R. Mardochus, cited, 37, 157 (notes)
Jarchi, Selomoh = R. Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes = Rashi, cited, 37, 45, 157 (notes)
Jarguasongo, province of, 25
Jechoniah, 64
Jechonias, 129
Jellinek, cited, 169 (notes)
"Jephe Thoar," 36
Jerida = Hord, 31
Jeroboam, King of the Tribe of Ephraim, 43
Jerome, 42
Jerusalem, 39, 40, 42, 43, 52, 53, 61, 62, 64, 76, 102, 125, 128, 129, 130 ; daughter of, 69 ; destruction of, 59, 65 ; Holy Mount at, 44 ; Isaac Jeshurum died at, 117 ; New, 67 ; people of, 35 (*see* Agrippa's Oration)
"Jerusalem Talmud," 35
"Jerusalem Targum," 155 (notes)
"Jerushalmi, The," 157 (notes)
Jeshurun, Isaac, tortured and imprisoned on Blood Accusation, 116, 150, 168 (notes)
Jeshurum, Joseph, brother of Isaac, 116
Jessey, Henry, xxii, xxviii, xli, xlviii, xlix, lii, liii *n.*, lxxx, lxxxi, 103
Jessop, xliv
Jesuits, xii, 38 ; erected colleges in Tartary and China, 29
Jewish Quarterly Review, cited, 152, 155, 163 (notes)
Jewish question, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xlvi, li, lxix, lxxii ; nation, 84, 101 ; nation in Holland and Italy, 83 ; Sabbath, 37
Jews, admission of, as citizens of one of the colonial dependencies of Great Britain, xxxvii ; at Hamburg, 49 ; cemetery, petition signed, lxvii ; emigration of Spanish, 154 (notes) ;

fidelity of the, 93; in Persia, 49, 50, 85; in Spain, 164 (notes); kingdom of the, 38; of Morocco, 163 (notes)
Jisbia, 27
Jochai, R. Simon ben, cited, 93 (*see* Johay)
Jochai, R. Simon ben, 163 (notes)
Johanan, Rabbi, cited, 35, 156 (notes)
Johay, Rabbi Simeon ben, author of "Zoar," disciple of Akiba, 45, 158 (notes)
John, Don, 95
John II., 51 (*see* Alonsius)
John III., 94
John, Oliver St., xlvii, 111; mission, xxx, xxxi, xxxviii
Joktan, father of Ophir, 18
Jonah, Rabbi, 34
Jonathan, cited, 135
Jones, Colonel, lxi, lxiii, lxv
Joppa, 19
Joseph, House of, 69
Josephus, 7, 19; cited, 29, 35–39; 54, 119, 120; 128–131; 135, 138
"Josephus Flavius," Menasseh's continuation, 115
Jucatan, 18; Indians of, 22
Judah, House of, 69; tribe of, 7, 36, 29–42, 52, 66, 69, 85
Judah, Rabbi, the Prince, 156 (notes) (*see* Rabbi Johanan)
Judaical Sects, xxi, xxii
Judaisers, xxix
Judas, Beleeving, 47 (*see* Alacron)
Judea, 126
Julius III., 96
Junquera, Santiago Perez, 151 (notes), 152 (notes)
Jurnin, 112
Juvenal, cited 135,

KALICOUT, 38
Karis, Rabbi Judah Aben = Rabbi Judah ben Koraisch, 34, 156 (notes)
Karpeles, cited, 161 (notes)
Kayserling, xiii *n.*, xxiii *n.*, xxvii *n.*, lxix *n.*; cited, 151, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 169 (notes), cited
Kiffen, William, xlvii
Kimhi, Rabbi David, cited, 34, 156 (notes)
Klemperer, cited, 169 (notes)
Knevett, Francis, lxi, lxiii, lxv
Knight of San Miguel, xiii (*see* Marranos)
"Koheleth," 161 (notes)
Kolorni, Abraham, 50, 72
Kosi, Rabbi Moseh de, cited, 141

"LA ARAUCANA," 155 (notes)
Laban, 56
Labrador, 20, 21
Lacedemonians, 97
Lacto, de, 20, 56
Lagus, Ptolemy's father, 127
Lambert, John, xlvii, l
Lamik, 38
Laodicea, city of, 55
Latins, 7
"Laus Orationes del Anno," 146
Lawrence, Henry, xlvii, l, lxxxiv
Lebanon, 70
Lee, S. L., xiv *n.*
Leghorn, lxxi; Hebrew bankers of, xv
Leon, Pedro Cieçade = Petrus Cieza, 155 (notes)
Leopold, Emperor, xiii
Lescarbotus, 54
Lethuania, Jews in, 87
Levant, xiv, 82, 97, 167 (notes); Jewish settlers of, xii; trade of, xxx
Levellers, xxi, xxix
Levita, Elias = Elias Grammaticus, 160 (notes)
Levy, Aaron = Antonio de Montezinos, xxiv
Levy, cited, 159, 160, 169 (notes)
Levy, Rev. S., cited, l *n.*
Lewenclavius, 32
"Libellus Anglicus," 161 (notes)
Licurgus, 98
Ligorne, 82
Lima, 48
Lima, David de, 89
Linschotes, cited, 50
Lisbon, lxxi, 47, 48, 99, 117
Lisborn, 37
Lisle, John, xlvi, xlvii

Lloyd, li
"Loci Communes Omnium Midrasim," 147
Loet, cited, 162 (notes)
London, xxxi; City authorities of, lxvii; Embassies in, xl; Jews in, lxxiii; Judaical sects in, xxii; Marranos of, xiv, xxx, xxxv, xxxvi, lviii; Menasseh's arrival in, xxxvii; Menasseh's son sent to persuade him to come to, 36; merchants of, lxxvi; return of Charles II. to, lxxi; "Vindiciæ Judæorum" written in, 145
Lopes, Roderigo, xiv, xv, 159 (notes)
Lord President, xlvii
Lost Tribes, the, xxiv, 153 (notes), (*see* "Thorn Tree")
Low Countries, 88
Lubin=Lublin, 38, 158 (notes)
Lublin, xxxvii *n.*; Jews in, 87
Lunel, 157 (notes)
Lusitano, Amatus, brother of Elias Montalbo, 86, 160 (notes)
Luther, cited, 55
Luxa, 25

MACCABEES, first book of, cited, 128; history of the, 62
Maccia, Duke of=Joseph Nasino, 86
Machado, cited, 162 (notes)
Madrid, 26, 51, 117, 151 (notes)
Magog, battle of, 44; war of, 43, 52
Mahomitans, 37; Jewish captivity under the, 113
Maimon, R. Moses bar=Maimonides, physician to Saladin of Egypt, 50; wrote "Yad Hachazaka," cited, 63, 156 (notes), 167 (notes), 168 (notes)
Mainenses, 25
Mairel, 86
Maisel, Mardocheas or Mordecai, knighted by Emperor Matthias, 50, 160 (notes)
Malvenda, 20
Manasseh, tribe of, 29
Manton, Thomas, xlviii
Mantua, 33, 51; the besieging of, 91; Jews in, 87
Manuel, Don, King of Portingal, 28; of Portugal, 158 (notes)
Maragnon=Marañon=Amazon, 24, 25, 27, 155 (notes)
Margareta, province of, 25
Margarita, Antonius=Aaron Margalita, 136, 169 (notes)
Maria de Medicis, 160 (notes)
Maria, Infanta, xiii
Mariana, 90
Marianus, cited, 54
Marracco, King of, 49
Marrocco, 88
Marranos=New Christians or Crypto-Jews; derivation of name uncertain, probably a corruption of "Maranatha"; remain in Spain after expulsion of Jews; influence on the history of Europe, xii, xiii, xxxiii, xxxvi, lx, lxii, lxiii, lxiv, lxviii; aim against privileges of, lxi; London, xxxv, l, lii, lviii, lxviii; London Marranos's petition, lxxxv; petition for burial-ground, lxvi; of Portugal, xxxix; reach England, xiv, sign Robles's petition, lxv; of Spain, xxxix; some London, known to Cromwell, xxx, 152, 155, 170 (notes)
Mart of Breslau, 38
Martha, St., 18
Martyr, Justin, cited, 120
Matthias, Emperor, 50, 86
Maurice, Prince, 49
Mauritania, 141
Mede, cited, 68
Media, 6, 35, 39, 40, 42; mountains of, 33
Medicis, Duke Cosmus de=Duke of Toscani, 49
Medicis, Loysia de, Queen of France, 50
Medicis, Maria de, 160 (notes)
Medigo, Elia del=Elias Cretensis, 160 (notes)
Mediterranean, 19; Jewish refugees on coasts of, xi; Sea, 44
Meetabel, son of Matadel, 21
Meir, R., 133, 169 (notes), (*see* Beruria)
Melbourne, 162 (notes)

Meldola, Prof. Raphael, 160 (notes)
Menasseh ben Israel, Rabbi of Amsterdam, author of "Spes Israelis" and other works; son of Marrano of Lisbon; educated under care of Rabbi Isaac Uziel; became Rabbi at age of eighteen; accomplished linguist, writer, and preacher; married into the Abarbanel family, xxii, xxiii, xxxiii, xlv, lxviii, lxxxvi, 6, 69, 71, 157 (notes), 161 (notes), 169 (notes); arrives in London, xxxvii; campaign of, lxxv; catalogue of books of, 146; Christian friends of, 169 (notes); connection with members of the St. John Mission, xxxi; contemporary with Sadler, 167 (notes); death of, lxix; Declaration to the Commonwealth of England, 78; "De Creatione," 169 (notes); demands presented to Cromwell, lxxxiii; "De Termino Vitæ," 149 (notes); formally opens negotiations with the Government of the Commonwealth, xliv; "Hope of Israel," xxvi, 65; dedication of "Hope of Israel" to Parliament and Council of State, 3; "Humble Addresses" printed, xxxviii, 73, 75, 162 (notes); close of "Humble Addresses," 103; invited to England by Cromwell, xxxvi; letter, lxxvii; letter to Dury, lxxviii; letter to Felgenhauer, lxxix, 163 (notes); Mission to Cromwell, xvi, lxxiii; motives of his English supporters, 161 (notes); negotiations with Thurloe, xxxii; petition not favoured by the clergy, xlvi; petition sprung on Council, xlvi; petition to Cromwell, lxxxvi, lxxxvii; his portraits, 149 (notes); Menasseh's proposals read, xlviii; Menasseh's reply to Prynne and Ross, "Vindiciæ Judæorum," lxiii; sends Dormido to England, xxxiii; signs petition, lxii; Menasseh's sojourn in London, 165 (notes); Menasseh's summary of the Thirteen Articles of Faith, 168 (notes); Menasseh's "Vindiciæ Judæorum," 105; wife of, 154 (notes); with relation to the Ten Tribes, 152 (notes)
Menda, Nathaniel, 165 (notes), 166 (notes)
Mendaña, 155 (notes)
Mendez, Alvaro = Jacob Aben Jaes, 49
Mercado, Abraham de, xxxvi, xxxvii
Mercado, Raphael de, xxxvii
Messiah, xxiii, xxv, xxvi, lxxviii, lxxix, 7, 45, 46, 52, 53, 63, 79, 118, 124; son of David, 43, 44; son of Ephraim, 43; son of Joseph, 43, 44; Bar-Cochba, the Pseudo, 157 (notes)
Messianic beliefs, xxi, xxviii
Meursius, 169 (notes)
Mexico, 22, 23, 48
Michael, Isle of St., 21, 55
Michesius, Joannes = D. Josephus Nassi, 49
Middelburg, lxix, 150 (notes)
Middlesex, E. S., xxvii *n.*
Middleton, General, lxxviii
"Midras Rabba," cited, 141
"Midrash, The," cited, 153 (notes)
Millenarians, xxiii, xxv, xxvii, xxix, xl, 67, 70
Millennium, xxxi, xxxiii
Milum, Lord of = D. Josephus Nassi, 49
Mirandola, Pico de, 50, 160 (notes)
"Mishna, The," 156 (notes)
Mochingerius, Joh., lxxx, 169 (notes)
Modena, Leo de, xlii, 168 (notes)
Modena, State of, 88
Modina, Duke of, 85
Mohanes = magicians = American-Indian medicine men, 28, 56, 154 (notes)
Molho, Selomoh = Diogo Pires, 33, 156 (notes)
"Monarchia Ecclesiastica," 120
Monarchia Ingasonum, 22
Monarchies, The Four, 45, 46
Monarchy Men, Fifth, xv, xxi
Monk, xl, lxxiii
Montalto, Elias = Felipe Montalto = Eliahu de Luna Montalto = Don Philipe Rodrigues, 50, 160 (notes)

Montanas, Arias, 18
Montezinos, Antonio de = Aaron Levy, xxiv, xxvii, 6, 12, 15, 17, 20, 27, 28, 54, 56, 151, 153, 154 (notes); goes with Cazicus, 13; relates his story, 11
Montezinos, Ludovicus, 12
Montfort, Marquis of, xiii
Moorish domination in Spain, 158 (notes)
Moors, 39
Mores, the, 94, 98
Morines, 91
Morocco, 127, 141, 156 (notes)
Mortara, cited, 159 (notes)
Morvyn, 166 (notes)
Moses, R., of Egypt, 109, 110, 123, 125, 140; cited
Münster, 157 (notes), 161 (notes)
Mussaphia, D. Benjamin = Dionysius Mussaphia, physician and Rabbi, 50, 159 (notes)
Mysketa, 37

NACCIA = D. Josephus Nassi, 49
Nachman, Moses ben, 157 (notes), (*see* Gerundensis)
Nahomi, 102
Naphtali, Hord of, 31; war with Zeno, 31
Naphtali, tribe of, 32
Naphtalites, 32; war with Zeno, 31
Naples, 49
Nasi, Donna Gracia, 159, 163 (notes)
Nassi, Don Josephus = Joannes Michesius, nephew and son-in-law of Bienvenide Abravanela, 49, 86, 159 (notes)
Nation of the Jews, 90
National Conference, xlvi
Navigation Act, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xli, lxxiii
Naylor, James, xl
Nazarenus, Eli = Francisco Meldonado de Silva, turned Jew, was burnt at Lima, 48, 158 (notes)
Nebuchadnezzar, 40, 42, 51, 76, 129, 141; dream of, 75; image of, 52, 57
Nebuchadnezzar's tree, 59
Nehamias, Himanuel, 170 (notes)
Nephussim, 52
Nero, 101, 130
Netherlands, xxx, xxxiii
Neubauer, Dr. A., cited, 152 (notes), 153 (notes)
Neve, Le, lxxv
New Africa, 34
New Christians or Marranos, xii
New Exchange, xxxvii
"New Model," xix
New Spain, 18, 22, 31, 54; Indians of, 18, 23; Ten Tribes in, 20
New World, xiv; inhabitants of, 6
Newcomen, xlviii, xlix
Nicanor, 128
Nicaraguazenses, 22
Nicholas, Sir Edward, xxii, xli; cited, 103
Nicolay, Nicholas de, cited, 162 (notes)
Nieupoort, cited, xli *n.*, lx *n.*
Nile, The, 19, 34, 39, 41, 44
Nisa, 84
Nisebor, 32
"Nismachaim," 146
Nizza, 82
"Nomenclator Hebraius and Arabicus," 147
"Nomologia," 163 (notes)
North Sea, 21
Norway, 6, 54
Norwich, 112, 166 (notes)
Nova Granada, 24
Novæ Angliæ, lxxxi
Nuevos Christianos (*see* Marranos), lix, lxi
Nye, Philip, xlviii, xlix, l

OG, 57
Ogay, 29
Ojeda, 153 (notes)
Omeguas, 23
Onias, the High Priest, 76, 128
Onkelos, cited, 135
Ophir, 19, 53, 54; son of Jokton, 18
"Orationes Panegyricæ," 146
"Orchot Olam," 38, 156 (notes)
Orchotolam, Abraham Frisol = Abraham Farisol or Peretsol, author of "Orchot Olam," 33, 156 (notes)
Origen, 54; cited, 55

Ornstein, Rev. A. F., 162 (notes)
Orœnsis, 30
Oronoch, the Indians of, 27
Orosius, cited, 55
Orpa, 103
Orsna, Petrus de, killed by Aquirre, 24, 25
Ortelius, 31 ; cited, 33, 58, 54
Osorius, Hieronymus, 28 ; cited, 98, 99, 100, 138, 163 (notes)
Otteman race, 52
Ottoman family, 97
Owen, Dr., xxix, xlviii
Oxford University, xlviii

PACK, Sir Christopher, xlvii, li
Padua, 50, 160 (notes) ; Jews in, 87 ; Mounts of Piety at, 101
Palache, Seignor Moseh, 88, 163 (notes)
"Paläorama," 153 (notes)
Palatine, Prince, 28
Palaxe, Samuel, 49, 159 (notes)
Paliciano, Monsegnor Monte, 95
Pampelona, 24
Panama, 18, 31
Para, Great, 27
"Parasa Aazinu," 37
Paris, Matthew, cited, 112
Paris, Parliament of, 97
Parisius, Cardinal, cited, 96
Parliament, of England, 157 (notes) ; dedication of "Hope of Israel" to, 3, 144 ; dedication of Latin edition of "Hope of Israel" to, xxvi ; Long, lviii ; pamphlet, probably read in, xxvii ; of Paris, 97
Parthia, 40
Parvaim, 18
Pathros, 40
Paul III. of the House of Farnesia, 94, 95, 96
Paul IV., Pope of Rome, 98
Paul's, St., Cathedral, xli ; Church, 118
Paz, Enriquez de, xiii
Paz, Seignor Duarte de, 95
Pedro the Cruel, Don, 90, 163 (notes)
Peka, 29
Pelham's "Jew Bill," xx
Pelu, 19
Pelusium, 40
"Pene Rabba," 146
Pequin, 29
Pequinenses, 29
Perasach, 36
Pernambuco, xxxiii, xxxvii
Peroza, 31
Persia, 32, 39, 40, 42 ; Kings of, 31 ; Monarch of, 131
Persians, 32
Peru, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 31, 53, 54, 153 (notes) ; Indians of, 23 ; chronicles of, 22
Pesria, Guebia ben, 141
Peters, Hugh, xix, xxviii, xl, xliii, l, lix
Petition, for burial-ground, lxvi ; to repeal "Statute of Banishment" against Jews, xx
Petra, 40
Petronius, 129
Peyrère, Iaac la, 168 (notes)
Pharaoh, 76
Pharaonica, Isle, 55
Phenicians, 6
Phes, Governors of, 49 (*see* Rutes)
Philadelphus, Ptolomeus, 124, 130
Philip II., King of Spain, 91
Philip III., 26
Philip, King of France, 51
Philo, 129 ; cited, 130, 131, 135
"Philosophia Rabbinica," 147
"Phocylides," 147
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, xlvi, xlvii
"Piedra Gloriosa," 149 (notes)
"Piedra Pretiosa," 146
Pineda, Thomas de, Marrano Jesuit Father, xiii ; cited, 54, 120
Pinto, Mosseh, 170 (notes)
Pires, Diogo (*see* Molcho), 156 (notes)
Pisarrus, Gonzalus, 24
Pizarrus, Franciscus, 17
Placentia, 39
"Plain Dealing," lxvi
Plancius, 130
Plato, 54
Pliny, 20 ; cited, 37, 55
Plutarch, 55, 58 ; cited, 118, 127
Pocock, cited, 149 (notes), 159 (notes)
Poland, xxxix ; Jews in, xlv, lxx, 77, 87 ; King of, Henry of Anjou elected, 159 (notes) ; usury in, 120

Polonians, 38
Pomis, David de, 50, 160 (notes)
Pompey, 76, 130 ; end of, 51
Pope, the, 33, 94 ; receives Reubeni, 155 (notes) ; declares Blood Accusation false, 102 ; Paul IV., 98 ; Sextus V., 50
Porarius, 54
Porphiry, 54
Port Honda (*see* Bahia Honda), 153 (notes)
Portingal=Portugal, 27 ; King of, 28
Portugal, xii, xiii, xxxvii, lxi, lxxiii, 33, 48, 94 ; banishment of Jews from, 93 ; Cardinal of, 98 ; Earle of, 117 ; Inquisition in, lxiv ; Jews in, xlv ; King of, xxv, xxxiv, 49, 95, 121, 168 (notes) ; King of, receives Reubeni, 155 (notes) ; King Emanuel of, 51, 97 ; trade of, xxix
Portugals, 91, 96
Portuguese, lxi, lxv, 48 ; alliance, xxix ; conquer Pernambuco, xxxiii
Possevimus, cited, 54
Postellus, Gulielmus, 53
Prague, xxxvii *n.*, 50, 169 (notes) ; astrologer of (*see* Verus), 28 ; Jews in, 86 ; Synagogues at, 160 (notes)
" Prelate of the Commonwealth " (*see* Manton)
Presbyterians, xix
President, Lord, lxii
Prester John, 34
" Pride's Purge," xix
Prince of the Twelve Tribes, 43
Privy Council, lx, lxxv
" Problemata de Creatione," 146
Proclamation by Privy Council, lx
Proclus, 54
Procopius, cited, 32
" Prolegomena," 114, 136
Prometheus, 55
Protector, the, xvii, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xli, xlvi, lv, lxiv, lxvi, 162 (notes) ; death of, lxxi ; expects report on Menasseh's petition, xlv ; Menasseh guest of, xxxiii ; petition to, from Marranos, lxii ; receives Robles's petition, lxi
Protector's speech, liii ; threat, lvii
Provence, 85
Prussia, lxxx ; Jews in, 87
Prynne, xlii *n.*, xliii *n.*, xlix *n.*, li, lvii, lxiii ; cited, 142, 165 (notes)
Psuedo-Messiah, Bar Cochba, 157 (notes) ; Sabbethai Zevi, xi
Ptolomies, Histories of, 90
Ptolomy, 127
Ptolomy, Philadelphus, 124, 130
Ptolomyes tables, 34
Puerto, 99
Puerto de Santa Cruz (*see* Bahia Honda), 153 (notes)
Pul, King of Assyria, 29
Pumbaditha, School of (*see* Seadiah), 158 (notes)
Puritans gratified by Menasseh's praise, xxvii ; rise of, xviii

QUAKERS, the, 167 (notes)
Queiros, Ferdinades de, 26
Quity, Province of=Quito, 11, 25, 153 (notes)
Quivira, 21, 31

RAGUSA=Aragusa, 164 (notes), 168 (notes)
Raphanea, 36, 38
" Rappel des Juifs," 168 (notes)
Raguenet, xxxvii *n.*
Readmission of the Jews, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv, xxxix, xl, xliv, xlvi, lii, liv, lix
Reato, Mordehai, 45
" Rebus Emanuelis, de," 98
Recife, xxxvii
" Reconciler," 29, 42
Recusancy Acts, lviii
Red Sea, 19, 41
Redemption from Babylon, 42
Reformation, the, xv, xviii, 160 (notes)
"Refutatis libri cui titulus Præadamitæ," 147
Reggio, State of, 88
Religious liberty, xx, xxi, lxxvi (*see* Cromwell's policy, xxviii) ; progress of, xix ; restricted form of, xviii
Rembrandt, lxix ; friend of Menasseh, 169 (notes) ; painted two portraits of Menasseh, 149 (notes)

Index

"Remnant Found, The," 152 (notes)
Republican Government, xix, lxxiv, xxvii ; triumph, xxiii
Resettlement, petition, xxxv ; question, Holmes's treatise on, xxvi
Restoration, lxx ; Cromwell's maritime and commercial policy carried out after, lxxiii
Retio, 85
Reuben, tribe of, 29
Reubenita, David, 33
Reubenite, David the (*see* Reubenita) = David Reubeni, 33, 155 (notes)
Reuchlin, 72
"Revelation Revealed, The," 63
"Revelation Unrevealed, The," 67
Revolution, xx
Ribera, Franciscus de, 19
Ricaut, lxxiv
Riccards, Alderman, xlvii
Riccius, P. Matthæus, 29, 30
Richardson, Samuel, lxvi
"Rights of the Kingdom," 166 (notes)
Rios, Amador de los, xiv
Robles, Don Antonio Rodrigues, lx, lxi, lxii, lxiii ; Robles's petition to the Protector, lxiv ; reinstated, lxvi
Rocamora, Vicente de, xiii
Rodriques, Don Daniel, 88
Rofe, Selomo, ambassador to Venice, 86 (*see* Rophe)
Roman, 22 ; empire, 101
"Romance al diuin Martir Juda Creyente," poem by Gomez, 158 (notes)
Romans, 32, 35, 90, 97 ; Bar Cochba rebelled against the, 157 (notes) ; the kingdom of the, 126
Rome, xiii, 26, 48, 50, 57, 95, 96, 160 (notes), 163 (notes) ; a famous lawyer of, 93 ; Habyssins at, 34 ; Jews in, 87 ; monarch of, 131 ; Paul IV. of, 98 ; people of, 129 ; Pope of, 94
Rophé, Señor H. Meyr, 157 (notes)
Rophe, Don Selomo (*see* Rofe)= Rabbi Solomon ben Nathan Aschkenazi, 49, 159 (notes)
Rosales, Immanuel Bocarus Frances y, a Count Palatin, lxxx, 89, 163 (notes)
Ross, Alexander, xlii, xliii, lvii, lxiii, 165 (notes)
Rothschild, Baron Lionel de, lxxvi
Rous, Francis, xlvii
Rowe, Owen, xlvii
Royalists, xl, xli, lxxi ; letter, lix ; spies, lx ; spies in Holland, xviii ; treat with Jews, lxxiii
Rudolph, Emperor, 160 (notes)
Ruffinus, 119
Rupert's Horse, xlii
Rutes, the Lords, 49
Ruthes, 88
Rycaut, xv *n.*, liii *n.*

SABBATH, 37 ; Jewish, 37
Sabbathion or Sabbathian River, 35, 37, 38, 40 (*see* Sabbatical River)
Sabbatical River, 35–38, 66, 69, 153 (notes)
Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius, cited, 97
Sadler, John, contemporary of Menasseh ben Israel, xxii, xxvii, xl, xliii, lviii, lxii, lxiii *n.*, 166, 167 (notes)
Sagredo, xli
Saladin, King of Egypt, 50
Salamanca, xiv, 39
Salamanque, Synagogues of, 86
Salines, Captain, 25
Salmanassar, captivity of, 69 ; Salmanaster, 20 ; Salmaneser, 33, 37, 42
Salvetti, xli *n.*, lix
Samaria, 29, 130
Samaritans, 128
Sambation, 153 (notes), (*see* Sabbatical River)
Samuel ben Israel, xxxvi
Samuel, Jacob, 152 (notes) ; Rabbi, 166 (notes)
Sanhedrin, 35, 156 (notes)
Saracen, 115
Saragoci, grandson of Ferdinand and son of Emanuel, 51
Saragossa, xii
Saraph baxas, Jews as, in Egypt, 49
Sarazens, 30

Sasal, Prince of, 88
Sasportas, Jacob, xxxvii *n.*
Satah, R. Simeon ben, 141
Satthianadhan, cited, 160 (notes)
Savoy, Duke of, 51, 84, 97 (*see* Felibert)
"Scala de Spalatro," 82
Scaliger, cited, 160 (notes)
Scandia, Marquis of, 88
"Scebet Jehuda," 121, 168 (notes)
Schemtob de Leon, Moses ben, 158 (notes)
Schikhardus, cited, 31
Schmieles, Jacob Basevi, 160 (notes), (*see* Bathsebah)
Schwab, cited, 154 (notes)
Scythia, 20, 42
Seadiah, Rabbi = Saadja ben Joseph = Saadja Gaon, 158 (notes)
Seba, Fernando Jacob ben, 86
Sebastian, King, 51
Second Temple, 46, 53
"Sedar Olam," 35, 156 (notes)
Seignor of Millo = Joseph Nasino, 86
Sekes, Governors of, 49 (*see* Rutes)
Selencus, 128
Selim, Sultan, 49, 113, 135; peace with Venetians, 49
Selve, George de, 161 (notes)
Senensis, Sixtus, cited, 125
Separatists, xviii, xix
"Sepher Eldad Danita," 34, 156 (notes)
"Sermois," 147
Setuval, 99
Seven Islands, Lord of the, 49
Seville, xii
Sextus V., Pope, 50
Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, 29, 32
Shinar, 40
"Shir Ha-Shirim Rabba" = "Asirim Rabba," 157 (notes)
Shulamite, 58
Shunamite, the, 64
"Sicilian Constitutions," cited, 115
"Sifre," 158 (notes), (*see* Johay)
Silesia, lxxx
Silva, Don Francesco Meldonado de = Eli Nazarenus, a Marrano (*see* Marquis of Montfort, 158 (notes), 159 (notes)
Simeon the Just, 128
Simon, Barbara Anne, 152 (notes)
Simon, Rabbi, cited, 36
Simon, Petrus, cited, 23
Sina, 29, 40, 41
Sinai, Mount, 114
Sinear, 40
Sinim, Land of, 31 (*see* Sina)
Singer, Rev. S., cited, 163 (notes)
Sion, 46, 61, 62
Sisbuthus, the end of, 51
"Smectymnuus," xlviii
Smyrna, xv, 151 (notes)
Sobierre, 169 (notes)
Soeiro, Semvel ben Israel, 150 (notes) (*see* Samuel Ben Israel)
"Sohar" = "Zohar" = "Zoar," 158 (notes)
Soliman, Sultan, 97
Solime, Sultan, 86
Solinus, cited, 33
Solis, Eliazar de, 117
Solis, Simao Pires, 117
Solomon, Isle of = Isabel Island, 115 (notes)
Solomon and Hierusalem, 155
Solon, 98
Solymon II., 160 (notes)
Sonsinos, 49, 159 (notes)
Southern Sea, 16
South Sea, De Quieros enters, 26
Spain, xi xii, xiii, 51, 54, 84, 90, 154; banishments of, 46; banishment of Jews from, 93; cruelties to Jews in, xlv; Inquisition in, lxiv; Indians compelled to swear fealty to King of, 25; Jews in, 83; King of, lxi, 28, 49, 91, 93, 121—*see* Alfonso, 168 (notes); *see* King Alphonso the Wise of, 102; King of, present at an "act of the faith" at Madrid, 117; Papistry of, xxix; struggle with Elizabeth, xv; trade of, xxx; war with, lx; when possessed by the Moors, 39
Spaniards, 17, 18; in America, 25; baptized Indians and then murdered them, 113; cruelty of, to Indians, 11; dwelling in the Indies affirm that the Indians come of the Ten Tribes, according to Menas-

seh ben Israel, 20; find sepulchres, 21; first come to America, 16; found by accident, who had remained hidden eight hundred years, 39; in India, 13
Spanish, cruelties, 51; Inquisition, 47; nationality, lxiv
Spence, liii *n.*
Spencer or Spenser, Sir Edward, xxvii, xxviii, 151 (notes), 161 (notes)
"Spes Israelis," xxii, 68, 146
Spinoza, xxxvi
Spizelli, Theophili, 152 (notes)
States General, xvii, 144
Steele, William, xlvii, xlix
Steinschneider, cited, 162 (notes)
Sterry, Peter, l
Strabo, cited, 55
Straus, Oscar, xix *n.*
Strickland, xxxi, xlvii
Stuarts, lxviii; enemies of the, lxx
Sueton, cited, 55
Sura, schools of (*see* Seadiah), 158 (notes)
Surinam, xxxvii
Sweden, Jews in, xlv; Queen of, xxxvi
Sydenham, William, xlvii
Syria, 35, 40, 130
Syrian tyrants, 62
Sythia, 41

TABAIARES, 25, 26
Tabis, 20
Tabne, 125
Tabor, a province of Tartary, 33
Tacitus, cited, 55
Talmud, cited, 110, 125, 127; cited, 133; cited, 136; cited, 140, 157 (notes); Babylonian, cited, 36, 43; Jerusalem, 35; Rabbins in the, 43
Talmudists, 75, 92
Taradanta, governors of, 49 (*see* Rutes)
"Targum"—*see* Onkelos, 135 (notes); Uziel, 155 (notes)
"Targum upon Ruth," cited, 138
"Targum Yerushalmi," 155 (notes)
Tarshish, 28
Tarsis, 19, 44
Tartarians, 6
Tartaria the Greater, 20 (*see* Arsareth)
Tartars, 54
Tartary, 6, 20, 29, 31, 33, 40, 42, 53, 55
Tartas, Isaac Castrensis = Isaac de Castro Tartas, burnt at Lisbon, 47, 158 (notes)
Tartyri, lxxxi
Tegris, 39
Temple, first, 46; second, 6, 36, 39, 46, 53; third, 52
Ten Tribes, the, xxvi, lxxviii, 6, 20, 22, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 66, 69, 151 (notes), 152 (notes), 155 (notes); habitations of the, 39; in Ethiopia, 156 (notes); in Spain, 20; Kingdom of the, 44
Terbinon, Thomas = Thomas (Isaac) Trebiño de Sobremente, 48, 159 (notes)
Terceræ, Islands of, 55
Tertullian, cited, 120
"The Thorn Tree," 153 (notes)
"Thesoro de los dinim," 146
Theta, 153 (notes)
Thompson, Sheriff, xlvii
"Thoraces, The," 87
Thorowgood, Thomas, xxiv, xxv *n.*, lxxviii, 67, 152 (notes), 153 (notes); treatise of, xxv
Thraskytes, the race of, 66
Thurloe, xxxi, xxxii, xxxix *n.*, xl, xli *n.*, li, liv *n.*, lx *n.*, lxi, lxxxviii
Thurloe's advice to Menasseh, xxxviii
Tiahuanacu, a province of Collai, 21
Tiberiades, Governor of (*see* Jacob Jaes), 86
Tiberius, 55
Tibur, 33
Tiglath-Pileser, 29
"Tiguanac, Antiquity of," 22
Timæus, Plato's, 54
Titus, Emperor, 36, 126
Tobit, Book of, 35
Toledo, xii, 117
Toledo, Lady Leonora de, daughter of D. Peter de Toledo, 49
Toledo, D. Peter de, Viceroy of Naples, 49

Toleration movement, xxii ; Owen's scheme of, xxix ; religious, xxxi
Tornunfus, 36=Turnus Rufus, 157 (notes)
Torquemada, xii
Toscani, Duke of=Duke Cosmus de Medicis, 49
Totonacazenses, 22
Totones of New Spain, 22
Tours, 160 (notes)
Tovey, xli
Trachomites, the, 138
Trask, 69
Trent, Council of, lxxxi
Treuenburg, von (*see* Bathsebah)
Tribes, the Ten (*see* Ten Tribes); the Twelve (*see* Twelve Tribes); the Two (*see* Two Tribes)
Trigantius, Nicholaus, 29
Triglath Pilesser, 32
Tuckney, Anthony, xlviii
Tudela, Benjamin of=Tudelensis, 38, 156 (notes), 158 (notes)
Tudelensis (*see* Tudela)
Tully, cited, 130
Tunes=Tunis, 19, 95, 154 (notes)
Turk, the, 49 ; the Grand, xv ; Jews at Court of the Grand, 85 ; kingdom of the Great, 86
Turkish Empire, 162 (notes); Jews in, 85, 113
Turks, 57 ; conquered by Emperor Charles V., 95
Turkey, 100 ; Jewish families play important part in, 159 (notes)
Tuscany, Grand Duke of, lix, 87
Twelve Tribes, the, of Israel, 153 (notes), (*see* "Thorn Tree"); Prince of the, 43
Two Tribes, the, 52, 53, 70, 85
Tyberias, Governor of (*see* Jacob Aben Jaes), 49
Tyril, lxxi

UPPER India, 38
"Ur of the Chaldees," 153 (notes)
Usque, Samuel (*see* Vasquo), 163 (notes)
Utre, Philip d', 23, 24
Uziel, Rabbi Jonathan ben, author of "Targum," 19, 36, 155 (notes)

VALLADOLID, 47
Valle, Marquis del, 17
Vanega, 18
Vasquo=Usque, 163 (notes) ; cited, 99
Vega, Don Diego Vaca de la, 25
Vega, Garcillasso de la, 19; cited, 54
Venetian Senate, 160 (notes)
Venetians make peace with Selim, 49
Venezuela, 23
Venice, 86, 87, 160 (notes); Republic of, 49 ; Senate of, 88, 97
Veray, the Lord Lope de (*see* Alacron), 158 (notes)
Verga, Solomon Aben, 167 (notes)
Verona, Jews in, 87 ; Mounts of Piety at, 101
Verus, Jacobus, astrologer of Prague, 28
Vespacius, 17
Vespasian, 126
Vicarius, Joannes Castilianus, 24
Vicenza, Mounts of Piety at, 101
Vienna, 115 ; Jews in, 86
Villefleur, 28
Villependе, Marquis de = Lord Joseph de Fano, 87
Viles, the, 87
Vinaque, River, 22
"Vindiciæ Judæorum," xvi, lxiii, lxiv, lxxvii, 105 ; cited, 164
Violet, Thomas, xlii *n.*, lxvii *n.*, lxxi, lxxii
Viterbo, Cardinal Egidio di, pupil of Elias Grammaticus, 160 (notes)
Voga, Garcillassos de la ; cited, 21
Vorstius, 169 (notes)
Vossius, the family of, 169 (notes)
Vsquoquibs, the, 88

WALES, Judaical sects in, xxii
Wall, Moses, xxvii, 151 (notes), 154 (notes), 161 (notes)
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 165 (notes)
War of Gog and Magog, 43, 52
Webb, lxxv *n.*
West Indian Company, xxx
West Indians, 27
West Indies, xxxvi, 11, 19, 21, 29 ; first Colonies of, 18 ; inhabitants of, 6

Westminster Assembly, xlviii
Whitchcote, xlviii
Whitehall, xvii, xliv, xlvi, xlvii; meeting of Council of Mechanics at, xix
Whitehall Assembly, xvii, lvii, 144
Whitehall Conference, xix, xlviii, l *n.*, li, lii, liii, lviii, lix, lxvi, lxxxiv, 149 (notes); adjourned, xlix; meeting between Nye and Prynne at, 167 (notes)
Whitelock, xxi *n.*, xli
Wicofortius, Jaochimus, 31
Wiener, cited, 168 (notes)
Wilkes, Anna, 153 (notes)
Wilkinson, Henry, xlviii
Williams, Roger, xix, xxii, xl
Wilna, 151 (notes)
Wolf, Lucien, cited, xii *n.*, xv *n.*, xix *n.*, xxxiii, xxxviii, lxxv, lxxvi, 157 (notes), 160 (notes)
Wolseley, Sir Charles, xlvi, xlvii
Wood, C. M., cited, 155 (notes)

XARITES, 91
Xenophon, cited, 55
Xylus, 154 (notes)

YAD Hachazaka = Iad a Razaka, 167 (notes)
York, Marrano settlements in, xiv

ZACCULO, Abraham = Zaccuto, 45, 158 (notes)
Zaduces, 125
Zarate, cited, 54
Zealand, 27
Zebulon, tribe of, 32
Zeeland, lxix
"Zemach David," 163 (notes), 169 (notes)
Zeno, Emperor, 31
Zevi, Sabbethai = Pseudo-Messiah, xv
Zidan, Mulai or Mulet = King of Maracco, 49, 127
Zion, 60, 114, 145
"Zoar" = "Zohar" = "Sohar," 45, 93, 158 (notes), (*see* Johay), 163 (notes)
Zuñiga, Alonzo di Ercilla y (*see* Erzilla), 155 (notes)
Zunz, cited, 155 (notes), 157 (notes), 165 (notes)

THE END

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London

DS
135
E5M3

Manasseh ben Joseph ben Israel
Menasseh ben Israel's mission to Oliver Cromwell

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY